PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

IN FIFTEEN VOLUMES

XI

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V.11 WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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PLUTARCH'S
MORALIA
XI

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PREFATORY NOTE

The Malice of Herodotus is translated by Lionel Pearson. *Causes of Natural Phenomena* is by F. H. Sandbach. There is no joint responsibility. The editors regret that it is not possible to include at this time Aëtius, *De Placitis Philosophorum*, 874 D—911 C, which is usually found in editions of Plutarch. The Index was prepared by Edward N. O'Neil.

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ON THE MALICE OF HERODOTUS

(DE HERODOTI MALIGNITATE)

INTRODUCTION

In this essay Herodotus is accused not only of malice, duplicity, and a preference for putting the worst interpretation on other people's acts, but also of insincerity and deliberate falsification of the facts. The Greek word *kakoêtheia* embraces all these offences, and the translator has searched in vain for an equally comprehensive English word. The charge of *kakoêtheia* is a very serious one, and when the word " malice " is used in the translation of this essay it implies a moral offence, a real viciousness of character, the opposite of the corresponding virtue *euêtheia*, which means frank honesty, integrity, and kindliness of disposition.

To most readers of Herodotus it will seem astonishing that such charges should be directed against him ; and Plutarch is aware of this. He issues a solemn warning that the charm and grace of his style disguises his true malicious intent and that his apparent open-mindedness in recording various versions of events is really an invitation to accept the least creditable alternative. Thus the history is represented as a monstrous libel on the great heroes of classical Greece, a dangerous book which may induce unwary readers to form an utterly false impression of the glorious events of the past. Plutarch claims not only to be vindicating his Boeotian ancestors

against the charge of treachery to their fellow Greeks, but also to be defending Corinthians, Spartans, and Athenians, because, despite the apparent preference of Herodotus for Athens, the historian has not spared the champions of Greek liberty any more than those Greeks whose part in the Persian Wars was a less honourable one.

Other critics, ancient and modern, have questioned the accuracy and the good judgement of Herodotus, but not even the severest modern critic would support many of the charges made in this essay. It is not necessary to answer them in full here, since each reader can do this most effectively for himself by reference to a text of Herodotus ; but notes on the translation will point out some of the more unreasonable and ill-grounded details of the indictment. The charges have often been answered in print ; indeed, lovers of Herodotus in the eighteenth century came to his rescue with spirited replies, led by the Abbé Geinoz who in 1753 contributed the first of three memoirs to the Académie des Inscriptions entitled *Défense d'Hérodote contre les accusations de Plutarque* (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, xix, xxi, xxiii). Admittedly Herodotus is not an idealist and does not always treat his characters very gently ; but this does not mean that he takes a jaundiced view of human nature or is lacking in sympathy for human weakness (*cf.* Ph. E. Legrand, " De la malignité d'Hérodote," *Mélanges Gustave Glotz*, Paris, 1932, ii, pp. 535-547).

While this essay has offended lovers of Herodotus, it has also disturbed admirers of Plutarch, who have found it hard to believe that so kindly and good-natured an author could himself write with such fierce

malice and thus lay himself open to charges similar to those which he levels against Herodotus. Accordingly attempts have been made to show that the work was not written by Plutarch, but by some Boeotian rhetorician anxious to clear the good name of his ancestors by discrediting Herodotus as a witness. A vigorous upholder of this view was Bähr, the editor of Herodotus, who persisted in maintaining it despite the objections of G. Lahmeyer, *De libelli Plutarchei qui de malignitate Herodoti inscribitur et auctoritate et auctore* (Göttingen, 1848). Some are still tempted to question Plutarch's authorship, but it is very difficult to make a good case against it. Though the work may appear in some ways unworthy of the character and intelligence of Plutarch, its language and style, in terms of vocabulary and idiom, are unmistakably his ; the examples of hiatus in the text as it is preserved can easily be eliminated by emendation, and perhaps should be, since the text tradition is not good ; and there are numerous reminiscences of his other works. If the essay was not written by Plutarch, it must have been written by someone who knew his work intimately and was capable of imitating his style and wanted his work to pass for a genuine essay of Plutarch. Even if a forger possessed the necessary knowledge and skill, it is difficult to understand the motive of such a forgery.

Hence, since the article of Holzapfel in *Philologus*, lxii (1884), pp. 23-53, who refutes the various arguments of Bähr, the *De Malignitate* has passed for a genuine work of Plutarch and any who still refuse to accept it as such must be considered adherents of a lost cause. Such faithful sceptics would do well to read Plutarch's essay *Concerning Talkativeness* (L.C.L.

vol. vi) and his *Comparison between Aristophanes and Menander* (L.C.L. vol. x), which, though less acrimonious than the *De Malignitate*, show some of the same spirit.

Indeed, if the essay is to be understood properly and not to be regarded as a mere outburst of bad temper, it must be considered in the light of Plutarch's views on history and literature as they are expressed elsewhere. As a Platonist Plutarch was anxious that worthy characters and fit models for imitation by the young should be presented by poets and historians alike and, as is plain from many passages in the *Lives*, he is more seriously concerned that history shall offer edification and moral lessons than that it be written with critical accuracy. Plutarch's attitude towards history is well presented by Hauvette, who has a chapter on the *De Malignitate* in his *Hérodote, historien des guerres médiques* (Paris, 1894) ; he considers that the earlier critics had failed to see the true ethical character of the work ; and its genuineness is defended in similar terms by Ziegler. If, as Hauvette says, Plutarch's principle of history is that " tout est beau dans l'histoire de la lutte victorieuse des Grecs contre les Perses," and " everything which tends to sully the brilliance of the picture is open to dispute and should be eliminated," we cannot expect to find his criticisms of historians either valid or reasonable. Such a view of history, which concentrates on " heroes and heroic deeds of the past," may not commend itself to those who are interested in historical truth ; but it is an attitude that can still be found in the correspondence columns of daily newspapers, where indignant protests are sometimes raised against " unpatriotic " public criti-

cism of national heroes. The *De Malignitate* is an ethical essay, not an attempt at historical criticism or a political pamphlet in defence of the Boeotians ; and Plutarch's credit is better preserved if this is constantly borne in mind by his readers.

The text, which offers many difficulties to an editor, is preserved in only two manuscripts, both in the Bibliothèque Nationale. E (Paris. 1672), which contains all the essays of Plutarch, was made in the time of Planudes (about 1300) ; B (Paris. 1675) belongs to the fifteenth century, and it has been argued that it has no independent value but is copied from a copy of E, with some attempts, which are not always very successful, to correct E's errors [a] ; but whatever its source, it cannot be ignored by an editor, since it contains many readings that are certainly correct. Apart from mistakes and corruptions, many of which have been corrected by the efforts of earlier editors, there are a number of lacunae indicated in the manuscripts ; and except when these occur in quotations of Herodotus, restoration is mainly a matter of conjecture. There are other lacunae which are not indicated in the manuscripts ; where these occur in quotations of Herodotus, their presence is indisputable and the cure is easy ; but there are other passages where an editor has to choose between postulating a lacuna, emending a word or two, or accepting a text

[a] For this view see G. R. Manton," The Manuscript Tradition of Plutarch's Moralia 70-7," *Class. Quart.* xliii (1949), pp. 97-104 and R. Flacelière, " La tradition manuscrite des traités 70-77 de Plutarque," *Rev. Ét. grecques*, lxv (1952), pp. 351-362, and *Plutarque, Dialogue sur l'Amour* (Paris, 1953), pp. 34-38. For a contrary view see K. Hubert, *Rhein. Mus.* xciii (1950), pp. 330-336 and *Gnomon*, xxv (1953), pp. 556-557.

of doubtful meaning and questionable Greek. The translator has discussed a number of these passages in a separate article.[a] The text as here constituted is based on a collation of the two manuscripts in photostatic copies.

The Aldine and Basle editions, of 1509 and 1542 respectively, offer a number of readings which differ markedly from those of E and B (generally for the worse) and there is a good case for believing that one or both of these editions used some manuscript that is now lost for the text of the *De Malignitate.* A manuscript in Venice (Marc. Gr. 517), written in the hand of Georgius Gemistus Pletho about the year 1440, contains among other extracts from Plutarch about a hundred lines of excerpts, partly paraphrased, from the *De Malignitate.* Aubrey Diller [b] has shown that Pletho had the opportunity to consult E, but the text does not in fact consistently follow either E or B and it offers a number of corrections which anticipate the work of later scholars ; and in one passage (861 B) it offers a markedly different new reading. Pletho's readings have been noted in the apparatus criticus of this edition where they differ from those of E or B.

[a] *Am. Journ. Phil.* lxxx (1959), pp. 255-275.

[b] *Scriptorium*, viii (1954), pp. 123-127 ; x (1956), pp. 27-41.

(854) ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΚΑΚΟΗΘΕΙΑΣ

1. Πολλοὺς μέν, ὦ 'Αλέξανδρε, τοῦ 'Ηροδότου[1] καὶ ἡ λέξις ὡς ἀφελὴς καὶ δίχα πόνου καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἐπιτρέχουσα τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐξηπάτηκε· πλείονες δὲ τοῦτο πρὸς τὸ ἦθος αὐτοῦ πεπόνθασιν. οὐ γὰρ
F μόνον, ὥς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀδικίας μὴ ὄντα δοκεῖν εἶναι δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κακοηθείας ἄκρας ἔργον εὐκολίαν μιμούμενον καὶ ἁπλότητα δυσφώρατον[2] εἶναι. ***[3] μάλιστα πρός τε Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Κορινθίους κέχρηται μηδὲ τῶν ἄλλων τινὸς ἀπεσχημένος, οἶμαι προσήκειν ἡμῖν,[4] ἀμυνομένοις ὑπὲρ τῶν προγόνων ἅμα καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, κατ' αὐτὸ[5] τοῦτο τῆς γραφῆς τὸ μέρος· ἐπεὶ τά γ' ἄλλα ψεύσματα καὶ πλάσματα βουλομένοις ἐπεξιέναι πολλῶν ἂν βιβλίων δεήσειεν. ἀλλὰ

δεινὸν τὸ τᾶς Πειθοῦς πρόσωπον,

[1] πολλοὺς μέν, ὦ 'A., τοῦ 'Ηροδότου L. P. : τοῦ 'Ηροδότου ι acuna of 12 letters) πολλοὺς μέν, ὦ 'A. Editors either ignore acuna or supply τοῦ λογογράφου or τοῦ ἱστορικοῦ, following Turnebus.

[2] δυσφώρατον E : δυσφορώτατον B.

[3] Lacuna of about 160 letters in MSS. Possible supplement: ὅπερ φιλεῖ ποιεῖν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ὁ 'Ηρόδοτος, τοῖς μὲν αἰσχίστῃ τῇ κολακείᾳ χαριζόμενος, τοὺς δὲ διαβάλλων καὶ συκοφαντῶν. νῦν δ' ὡς οὐδεὶς τετόλμηκεν αὐτοῦ τὴν ψευδολογίαν ἐξελέγχειν, ἦ . . .

[4] Bernardakis would add ἐλέγχειν, not necessary with proposed supplement.

[5] κατ' αὐτὸ B : καταυτὸ E.

ON THE MALICE OF HERODOTUS

1. MANY people, my dear Alexander,[a] have been deceived by the style of Herodotus, which is apparently so simple and effortless, slipping easily from one subject to another ; but more people still have suffered a similar delusion with regard to his moral character. Not only is it the height of injustice (as Plato puts it) " to seem just when one is not so," [b] but it is an act of supreme malice to put on a false show of good humour and frankness which baffles detection. And [c] this is exactly what Herodotus does, flattering some people in the basest possible manner, while he slanders and maligns others. Hitherto no one has dared to expose him as a liar. Since his principal victims are the Boeotians and the Corinthians, though he spares no one, I think it is proper that I should now stand up for the cause of my ancestors and the cause of truth and show how dishonest this part of his work is ; it would, of course, take many books if one wanted to describe all his other lies and fabrications. None the less

Persuasion by her glance doth quell us,

[a] Possibly, but not necessarily, the same as Alexander the Epicurean in *Mor.* 635 F.

[b] Plato, *Republic*, ii. 361 A. *Cf. Mor.* 613 F—614 A.

[c] The loss of several lines is indicated in the MSS. at this point. The two sentences that follow are based on a conjectural restoration (see critical note) ; but the general line of argument is clear.

855 ὥς φησιν ὁ Σοφοκλῆς, μάλιστα δ' ὅταν ἐν λόγῳ χάριν ἔχοντι καὶ δύναμιν τοσαύτην ἐγγένηται τάς τ' ἄλλας ἀτοπίας καὶ τὸ ἦθος ἀποκρύπτειν τοῦ συγγραφέως. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Φίλιππος ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺς ἀφισταμένους Ἕλληνας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ Τίτῳ προστιθεμένους, ὅτι λειότερον μὲν μακρότερον δὲ κλοιὸν μεταλαμβάνουσιν· ἡ δ' Ἡροδότου κακοήθεια λειοτέρα μέν ἐστιν ἀμέλει καὶ μαλακωτέρα τῆς Θεοπόμπου, καθάπτεται δὲ καὶ λυπεῖ μᾶλλον, ὥσπερ οἱ κρύφα διὰ στενοῦ παραπνέοντες ἄνεμοι τῶν διακεχυμένων.

Δοκεῖ δέ[1] μοι βέλτιον εἶναι τύπῳ τινὶ λαβόντας
B ὅσα κοινῇ μὴ καθαρᾶς μηδ' εὐμενοῦς ἐστιν ἀλλὰ κακοήθους οἷον ἴχνη καὶ γνωρίσματα διηγήσεως, εἰς ταῦτα τῶν ἐξεταζομένων ἕκαστον, ἂν ἐναρμόττῃ, τίθεσθαι.

2. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὁ τοῖς δυσχερεστάτοις ὀνόμασι καὶ ῥήμασιν, ἐπιεικεστέρων παρόντων, ἐν τῷ λέγειν τὰ πεπραγμένα χρώμενος (ὥσπερ εἰ θειασμῷ προσκείμενον ἄγαν ἐξὸν εἰπεῖν τὸν Νικίαν ὁ δὲ θεόληπτον προσείποι, ἢ θρασύτητα καὶ μανίαν Κλέωνος μᾶλλον ἢ κουφολογίαν) οὐκ εὐμενής ἐστιν,

[1] δέ editors : δή.

[a] Jebb-Pearson, *Fragments of Sophocles*, iii, fr. 865.

[b] Philip V of Macedon, from whom the Greek states were liberated by the Roman army of Titus Quinctius Flamininus (197 B.C.).

[c] Recalcitrant slaves, especially runaway slaves, were burdened with wooden or iron collars; a pun is probably intended here; the new collar would be longer-lasting, and

as Sophocles says [a]; and this is particularly true when a style so attractive and so effective enables a writer to conceal his moral character as well as the errors in his statements. Philip [b] used to tell the Greeks who were abandoning their allegiance to him and throwing in their lot with Titus Flamininus that they were merely accepting a new collar of servitude; it might chafe less than the old one, but they would wear it longer.[c] So the malice of Herodotus, no doubt, is of a smoother and softer variety than that of Theopompus,[d] but its effect is more penetrating and more painful—just as winds can create more discomfort by seeping through a narrow crack than when they spend their force out in the open.

I think, however, that I had better make some kind of outline, and list, in general terms, the indications by which we can determine whether a narrative is written with malice or with honesty and good will; then the individual passages examined can be classified under the different headings, if they fit the pattern.

2. First, then, the man who in his narrative of events uses the severest words and phrases when gentler terms will serve; if, for example, when he might have called Nicias "too much addicted to pious practices," he called him "a fanatical bigot"; or if he spoke of Cleon's "rashness and insanity" instead of his "unwise speech" [e]—such a writer is clearly

also longer, larger, and heavier. In *Life of Flamininus*, chap. x, this remark is attributed to the Aetolians.

[d] Jacoby, *Frag. Gr. Hist.* ii B, no. 115, T. 25. This fourth-century historian was famous for his violent brand of character-assassination.

[e] The "gentler" terms are those of Thucydides (vii. 50. 4; iv. 28. 5), who nevertheless speaks of Cleon making "a madman's promise" to take Sphacteria (iv. 39. 3). *Cf. Life of Nicias*, chap. vii and *Mor.* 169 A.

(855) ἀλλ' οἷον ἀπολαύων τῷ †σοφῶς[1]† διηγεῖσθαι τοῦ πράγματος.

C 3. Δεύτερον, ὅτῳ κακὸν πρόσεστιν ἄλλως τῇ δ' ἱστορίᾳ μὴ προσῆκον, ὁ δὲ συγγραφεὺς ἐπιδράττεται τούτου καὶ παρεμβάλλει τοῖς πράγμασιν οὐδὲν δεομένοις, ἀλλὰ τὴν διήγησιν ἐπεξάγων καὶ κυκλούμενος, ὅπως ἐμπεριλάβῃ ἀτύχημά τινος[2] ἢ πρᾶξιν ἄτοπον καὶ οὐ χρηστήν, δῆλός ἐστιν ἡδόμενος τῷ κακολογεῖν. ὅθεν ὁ Θουκυδίδης οὐδὲ τῶν Κλέωνος ἁμαρτημάτων ἀφθόνων ὄντων ἐποιήσατο σαφῆ διήγησιν,[3] Ὑπερβόλου τε τοῦ δημαγωγοῦ θιγὼν ἑνὶ[4] ῥήματι καὶ μοχθηρὸν ἄνθρωπον προσειπὼν ἀφῆκε. Φίλιστος[5] δὲ καὶ Διονυσίου τῶν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀδικιῶν ὅσαι μὴ συνεπλέκοντο τοῖς

D Ἑλληνικοῖς πράγμασιν ἁπάσας παρέλιπεν· αἱ γὰρ ἐκβολαὶ καὶ παρατροπαὶ τῆς ἱστορίας μάλιστα τοῖς μύθοις δίδονται καὶ ταῖς ἀρχαιολογίαις, ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπαίνους[6]· ὁ δὲ παρενθήκην λόγου τὸ βλασφημεῖν καὶ ψέγειν ποιούμενος ἔοικεν εἰς τὴν τραγικὴν

[1] τῷ σοφῶς] τῷ σοφιστικῶς Post : τῷ φῶς Aldine edition : πῶς τῷ Stephanus : σαφῶς τῷ Wyttenbach : τῷ σαφῶς Bernardakis. σοφῶς is clearly corrupt, but none of the emendations is satisfactory.

[2] ἀτύχημά τινος] τινὸς ἀτύχημα Benseler.

[3] διήγησιν E : τὴν διήγησιν B.

[4] θιγὼν ἑνὶ Xylander : θήγων ἐν E : θίγων ἐν B.

[5] Φίλιστος Basel edition : Φιλίστου.

[6] Something may be lost in the text here : Reiske suggests εἰσὶ χρήσιμοι.

[a] Text and precise meaning uncertain here. For similar but clearer language and possibly similar thought see *Mor.* 630 F, where it is pointed out that when men describe their own successes or the failures of their enemies they seem, as it were, " to be experiencing the pleasure of the incident itself

lacking in good will ; he is apparently deriving pleasure out of another man's misfortune by making a clever story out of it.[a]

3. Secondly, when something is discreditable to a character, but not relevant to the issue, and the historian grasps at it and thrusts it into his account where there is no place for it, drawing out his story and making a detour so as to include someone's ill-success or foolish unworthy act, there is no doubt that he delights in speaking ill of people. Thus Thucydides, even in writing about Cleon, never gave any specific account of his misdeeds, numerous though they were, and he was content with a single adjective to deal with Hyperbolus, the demagogue, calling him " a bad character " [b] and letting him go with that. Likewise Philistus [c] omitted all the crimes of Dionysius against the barbarians which were not tied up with the story of Greek events. The fact is that the digressions and excursuses in his history [d] are mostly devoted to myths and tales of early times, or else to praise of his characters. The writer who inserts abuse and fault-finding parenthetically seems to be expos-

as they talk." Post would translate rather, " they derive pleasure from the adventure in the telling," and the present passage with his emendation, " he seems to take pleasure in narrating the fact with sophistic colouring."

[b] Thucydides, viii. 73. 3. Plutarch's own language is not so restrained in *Life of Nicias*, chap. xi.

[c] Jacoby, *Frag. Gr. Hist.* iii B, no. 556, T. 13 b.

[d] Or " of history " in general. Jacoby evidently takes this to be the meaning, as he does not include this sentence in the Testimonium of Philistus. Plutarch might be thinking of the digressions in Thucydides devoted to mythology and early times, which include praise of Theseus (ii. 15. 2) and Themistocles (i. 138. 3) ; but Philistus is said to have modelled himself on Thucydides.

(855) ἐμπίπτειν κατάραν,

θνητῶν ἐκλέγων τὰς συμφοράς.

4. Καὶ μὴν τό γ' ἀντίστροφον τούτῳ παντὶ δῆλον ὡς καλοῦ τινος κἀγαθοῦ παράλειψίς ἐστιν, ἀνυπεύθυνον δοκοῦν πρᾶγμα εἶναι, γινόμενον δὲ κακοήθως, E ἄνπερ ἐμπίπτῃ τὸ παραλειφθὲν εἰς τόπον προσήκοντα τῇ ἱστορίᾳ· τὸ γὰρ ἀπροθύμως ἐπαινεῖν τοῦ ψέγοντα χαίρειν οὐκ ἐπιεικέστερον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τῷ μὴ ἐπιεικέστερον ἴσως καὶ χεῖρον.

5. Τέταρτον τοίνυν τίθεμαι σημεῖον οὐκ εὐμενοῦς ἐν ἱστορίᾳ τρόπου τὸ δυοῖν[1] ἢ πλειόνων περὶ ταὐτοῦ λόγων ὄντων τῷ χείρονι προστίθεσθαι. τοῖς γὰρ σοφισταῖς ἐφεῖται πρὸς ἐργασίαν ἢ δόξαν ἔστιν ὅτε τῶν λόγων κοσμεῖν τὸν ἥττονα παραλαμβάνοντας· οὐ γὰρ ἐμποιοῦσι πίστιν ἰσχυρὰν περὶ τοῦ πράγ- F ματος οὐδ' ἀρνοῦνται πολλάκις εἰς τὸ παράδοξον ἐπιχειρεῖν[2] ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπίστων. ὁ δ' ἱστορίαν γράφων ἃ μὲν οἶδεν ἀληθῆ λέγων[3] δίκαιός ἐστι, τῶν δ' ἀδήλων τὰ βελτίονα δοκεῖν ἀληθῶς λέγεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ χείρονα. πολλοὶ δ' ὅλως τὰ χείρονα παραλείπουσιν· ὥσπερ ἀμέλει περὶ Θεμιστοκλέους Ἔφορος μέν, εἰπὼν ὅτι τὴν Παυσανίου προδοσίαν ἔγνω[4] καὶ τὰ πρασσόμενα πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέως στρατηγούς, "ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπείσθη," φησίν, "οὐδὲ προσεδέξατο κοινουμένου καὶ παρακαλοῦντος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὰς[5]

[1] δυοῖν] δυεῖν Bernardakis.
[2] ἐπιχειρεῖν Stephanus : ἐπιχαίρειν.
[3] λέγων Reiske : λέγειν.
[4] ἔγνω Wyttenbach : ἀνέγνω.
[5] τὰς] τὰς αὐτὰς Reiske.

ing himself to the curse of the tragedy,

Be damned, compiler of men's miseries.[a]

4. The reverse of this behaviour, as anyone can see, is the omission of what is good and creditable ; such behaviour may seem immune from criticism, but it is prompted by malice if the omitted material has a proper place in the narrative. In fact, to begrudge praise is no less unfair than to take delight in censure ; and one might add that it is really more objectionable.

5. My fourth sign of ill will in history-writing is a preference for the less creditable version, when two or more accounts of the same incident are current. Sophists are permitted, on occasion, to adopt the worse cause and make the best of it ; but this is for practice or display ; they are not really inducing any firm belief in their cause and they may even admit that they are trying to startle people by a defence of the incredible. The historian, on the other hand, if he is to be fair, declares as true what he knows to be the case and, when the facts are not clear, says that the more creditable appears to be the true account rather than the less creditable.[b] Many omit the less creditable version altogether. For example, Ephorus [c] in writing about Themistocles says that he knew of the treachery of Pausanias and his negotiations with the king's generals ; "but," he says, "when Pausanias told him about it and invited him to share in the expected rewards, he was not per-

[a] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*[2] p. 913. *Cf. Mor.* 520 B.
[b] This is in sharp contrast with the expressed view of Herodotus : "I am obliged to set down what is recorded, but not to believe in it absolutely" (vii. 152. 3, *cf.* ii. 123. 1).
[c] Jacoby, *Frag. Gr. Hist.* ii A, no. 70, F. 189.

(855) ἐλπίδας''· Θουκυδίδης δὲ καὶ τὸ παράπαν τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ὡς κατεγνωκὼς παρῆκεν.

6. Ἔτι[1] τοίνυν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμολογουμένων πεπρᾶχθαι, τὴν δ' αἰτίαν ἀφ' ἧς πέπρακται καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐχόντων ἄδηλον, ὁ πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον εἰκάζων δυσμενής ἐστι καὶ κακοήθης· ὥσπερ οἱ κωμικοὶ
856 τὸν πόλεμον ὑπὸ τοῦ Περικλέους ἐκκεκαῦσθαι δι' Ἀσπασίαν ἢ διὰ Φειδίαν ἀποφαίνοντες, οὐ φιλοτιμίᾳ τινὶ καὶ φιλονεικίᾳ μᾶλλον στορέσαι[2] τὸ φρόνημα Πελοποννησίων καὶ μηδενὸς ὑφεῖσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις[3] ἐθελήσαντος. εἰ μὲν γάρ τις[4] εὐδοκιμοῦσιν ἔργοις καὶ πράγμασιν ἐπαινουμένοις αἰτίαν φαύλην ὑποτίθησι καὶ κατάγεται ταῖς διαβολαῖς εἰς ὑποψίας ἀτόπους περὶ τῆς ἐν ἀφανεῖ προαιρέσεως τοῦ πράξαντος, αὐτὸ[5] τὸ πεπραγμένον ἐμφανῶς οὐ δυνάμενος ψέγειν (ὥσπερ οἱ τὸν ὑπὸ Θήβης[6] Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ τυράννου φόνον οὐ μεγαλονοίας οὐδὲ μισοπονηρίας, ζήλου δέ τινος ἔργον
B καὶ πάθους γυναικείου τιθέμενοι· καὶ Κάτωνα λέγοντες ἑαυτὸν ἀνελεῖν δείσαντα τὸν μετ' αἰκίας θάνατον ὑπὸ Καίσαρος), εὔδηλον ὅτι φθόνου καὶ κακοηθείας ὑπερβολὴν οὐ λέλοιπε.

7. Δέχεται δὲ[7] καὶ παρὰ τὸν τρόπον τοῦ ἔργου διήγησις ἱστορικὴ κακοήθειαν, ἂν χρήμασι φάσκῃ

[1] ἔτι Wyttenbach : εἰ.
[2] στορέσαι Turnebus : ἱστορῆσαι : εἰς τὸ ῥῆξαι Stephanus.
[3] Λακεδαιμονίοις Madvig : Λακεδαιμονίων.
[4] τις Wyttenbach : τοῖς.
[5] αὐτὸ Reiske : αὐτοῦ.
[6] Θήβης Xylander : Θήβας. [7] δὲ] omitted in B.

[a] For the methods of Herodotus in assigning intentions and motives see L. Pearson, *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.* lxxii (1941), pp. 348-355.

suaded to accept the offer." Thucydides, on the other hand, has tacitly condemned the story by leaving it out altogether.

6. Again, when there is agreement about what was actually done but the cause and intention of the deed are in doubt,[a] the writer who tends towards the less creditable explanation is uncharitable and malicious —like the comic poets who represented the spark of war as set off by Pericles on account of Aspasia or Pheidias,[b] not because of a contentious ambition to check Peloponnesian arrogance and because he was unwilling to make any concessions to the Spartans. It may happen that a writer invents a discreditable reason for worthy deeds and actions which have won the praise of the world, and that his slanderous fabrications lead him on to unworthy suspicions concerning the secret purpose of the doer, though he cannot openly find fault with what was actually done—as with the writers who claim that the assassination of the tyrant Alexander by Thebê [c] was not prompted by a noble spirit and a hatred of evil, but was an act of jealousy and womanly passion, and those who say that Cato committed suicide because he feared the horrible death which Caesar planned for him [d]; envy and malice can certainly go no further than this.

7. Furthermore, with respect to the way in which a deed is accomplished, a historian's narrative is open to the charge of malice if it asserts that the success

[b] *Cf. Life of Pericles*, chaps. xxiv, xxx-xxxii (where he does not specifically refute the charges).
[c] Alexander of Pherae, killed by his wife Thebê in 359 B.C. *Cf. Life of Pelopidas*, chaps. xxviii, xxxv, and *Mor.* 256 A, and for a different version *Mor.* 768 F.
[d] Plutarch himself thinks that Caesar would have spared Cato (*Life of Cato*, chap. lxxii).

(856) μὴ δι' ἀρετῆς κατειργάσθαι τὴν πρᾶξιν, ὡς Φίλιππον ἔνιοι φάσκουσιν· ἂν σὺν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ καὶ ῥᾳδίως, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρον· ἂν μὴ φρονίμως ἀλλ' εὐτυχῶς, ὡς Τιμόθεον οἱ ἐχθροί, γράφοντες ἐν[1] πίναξιν εἰς κύρτον τινὰ τὰς πόλεις αὐτάς, ἐκείνου καθεύδοντος, ὑποδυομένας. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι τῶν C πράξεων ἐλαττοῦσι τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ κάλλος οἱ τὸ γενναίως καὶ φιλοπόνως καὶ κατ' ἀρετὴν καὶ δι' αὑτῶν ἀφαιροῦντες.

8. Ἔστι[2] τοίνυν τοῖς ἀπ' εὐθείας οὓς[3] βούλονται κακῶς λέγουσι δυσκολίαν ἐπικαλεῖν καὶ θρασύτητα καὶ μανίαν, ἐὰν μὴ μετριάζωσιν· οἱ δὲ πλαγίως οἷον ἐξ ἀφανοῦς βέλεσι χρώμενοι ταῖς διαβολαῖς, εἶτα περιιόντες ὀπίσω καὶ ἀναδυόμενοι, τῷ φάσκειν ἀπιστεῖν ἃ πάνυ πιστεύεσθαι θέλουσιν, ἀρνούμενοι κακοήθειαν ἀνελευθερίαν τῇ κακοηθείᾳ προσοφλισκάνουσιν.

9. Ἐγγὺς δὲ τούτων εἰσὶν οἱ τοῖς ψόγοις ἐπαίνους τινὰς παρατιθέντες, ὡς ἐπὶ Σωκράτους Ἀρι- D στόξενος, ἀπαίδευτον καὶ ἀμαθῆ καὶ ἀκόλαστον εἰπών, ἐπήνεγκεν " ἀδικία δ' οὐ προσῆν." ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ σύν τινι τέχνῃ καὶ δεινότητι κολακεύοντες ἔστιν ὅτε πολλοῖς καὶ μακροῖς ἐπαίνοις ψόγους παραμιγνύουσιν ἐλαφρούς, οἷον ἥδυσμα τῇ κολακείᾳ

[1] ἐν (or ἐπὶ) added by Reiske, not in MSS.
[2] ἔστι Meziriacus : ἔτι. [3] οὓς Meziriacus : οὐ.

[a] *Cf. Mor.* 187 B-C and, for slightly different detail, *Life of Sulla*, chap. vi. Timotheüs played a vigorous part in the

was won not by valour but by money (as some say of Philip), or easily and without any trouble (as they say of Alexander), or not by intelligence but by good luck (as the enemies of Timotheüs claimed, when they painted pictures showing the cities entering of their own accord into a kind of lobster-trap while Timotheüs slept).[a] It is evident that writers detract from the greatness and virtue of deeds when they deny that they were done in a noble spirit or by hard work or by valour or by a man's own effort.

8. Now men who openly abuse the persons whom they want to attack can be charged with ill-temper and lack of restraint, and lack of sanity if they go beyond reasonable bounds; but if they do it indirectly, if they shoot their slanderous shafts from under cover, as it were, and then turn round and withdraw from the fight by saying that they do not believe the charges which they certainly want other people to believe,[b] by their denial of malicious intent they show themselves guilty of a mean spirit as well as a malicious one.

9. Similar to these writers are those who qualify their fault-finding with some expressions of praise, as Aristoxenus[c] did in his verdict on Socrates, calling him an uneducated, ignorant sensualist, and adding " but there was no real harm in him." Just as men who flatter with some degree of skill and finesse sometimes mingle expressions of gentle criticism with their catalogue of praises, introducing the element of frank-

Athenian resurgence of the fourth century, which led to the formation of the Second Athenian Confederacy.

[b] Plutarch is thinking in particular of Herodotus, viii. 94, the story that the Corinthian admiral took flight at Salamis. *Cf.* below, 870 B-D.

[c] F. Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles*, ii, frag. 55.

(856) τὴν παρρησίαν ἐμβάλλοντες, οὕτω τὸ κακόηθες εἰς πίστιν ὧν ψέγει προϋποτίθεται[1] τὸν ἔπαινον.

10. Ἦν δὲ καὶ πλείονας καταριθμεῖσθαι τῶν χαρακτήρων· ἀρκοῦσι δ' οὗτοι κατανόησιν τἀνθρώπου τῆς προαιρέσεως καὶ τοῦ τρόπου παρασχεῖν.

11. Πρῶτα δὴ πάντων ὥσπερ ἀφ' ἑστίας ἀρξάμενος Ἰοῦς τῆς Ἰνάχου θυγατρός, ἣν πάντες Ἕλλη-
E νες ἐκτεθειῶσθαι νομίζουσι ταῖς τιμαῖς ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ καταλιπεῖν ὄνομα πολλαῖς μὲν θαλάτταις, πορθμῶν δὲ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀφ' αὑτῆς διὰ τὴν δόξαν, ἀρχὴν δὲ καὶ πηγὴν τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων καὶ βασιλικωτάτων γενῶν παρασχεῖν· ταύτην ὁ γενναῖος ἐπιδοῦναί φησιν ἑαυτὴν Φοίνιξι φορτηγοῖς, ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυκλήρου διαφθαρεῖσαν ἑκουσίως καὶ φοβουμένην μὴ κύουσα φανερὰ γένηται. καὶ καταψεύδεται Φοινίκων ὡς ταῦτα περὶ αὐτῆς[2] λεγόντων. Περσῶν δὲ τοὺς λογίους[3] μαρτυρεῖν φήσας, ὅτι τὴν Ἰοῦν[4] μετ' ἄλλων γυναικῶν οἱ Φοίνικες ἁφαρπά-
F σειαν, εὐθὺς ἀποφαίνεται γνώμην τὸ κάλλιστον ἔργον καὶ μέγιστον τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀβελτερίᾳ[5] τὸν Τρωικὸν πόλεμον γενέσθαι διὰ γυναῖκα φαύλην. "δῆλον γάρ," φησίν, "ὅτι, εἰ μὴ αὐταὶ[6] ἐβούλοντο,

[1] προϋποτίθεται Abresch : προαποτίθεται.
[2] αὐτῆς E : αὐτὴν B.
[3] λογίους Wyttenbach : λόγους.
[4] τὴν Ἰοῦν Stephanus : lacuna of 8 letters in MSS.
[5] ἀβελτερίᾳ Bernardakis : ἀβελτηρίᾳ (so also in 859 D).
[6] αὐταὶ Emperius : αὗται.

[a] *Cf.* Plutarch, *Quomodo Adul. ab Amico Internosc.*, esp. 51 C-D.

ness as a sort of seasoning to their flattery,[a] so malice offers some preliminary praise to make its accusations seem convincing.

10. One might enumerate more characteristics of this kind ; but these are enough to convey an idea of the man's purpose and method.

11. At the very beginning, then, starting from his own hearth, as it were, with Io the daughter of Inachus, whom all Greeks suppose to have received divine honours at the hands of the barbarians [b] and to have won such fame that many seas and the most famous straits were named after her [c] and to be the source from which the most notable royal families sprang [d]—our worthy Herodotus [e] says that she handed herself over to some Phoenician traders after she had let herself be seduced by the skipper, because she was pregnant and was afraid of being discovered ; and he falsely represents the Phoenicians as telling this tale about her. And after naming the learned men among the Persians as witnesses for the story that the Phoenicians carried off Io together with some other women, he goes right on to say that the greatest and noblest exploit of Hellas, the Trojan War, was in his opinion an act of folly, entered upon for the sake of a worthless woman ; " for it is clear," he says, " that they would not have been carried off unless they them-

[b] As a cow-goddess Io was commonly identified with Isis, especially since her wanderings ended in Egypt.

[c] The Ionian Sea to the West of Greece and the Bosporus or " Cow-ford," whether the Cimmerian or the Thracian, were supposed to be named after Io, because she passed that way on her wanderings when transformed into a cow. *Cf.* Aeschylus, *Prometheus*, 732-734, 839-841 ; Apollodorus, *The Library*, ii. 1. 3.

[d] The kings of Egypt and Argos (Aesch. *Prom.* 853-869 ; Apollodorus, ii. 1. 4).

[e] i. 5. 2-3.

(856) οὐκ ἂν ἡρπάζοντο." καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τοίνυν ἀβέλτερα ποιεῖν λέγωμεν,[1] ὑπὲρ τῶν Λεύκτρου[2] θυγατέρων βιασθεισῶν μηνίοντας Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ κολάζοντας Αἴαντα διὰ τὴν Κασάνδρας ὕβριν· δῆλα γὰρ δὴ καθ' Ἡρόδοτον ὅτι, εἰ μὴ αὐταὶ[3] ἐβούλοντο,[4] οὐκ ἂν ὑβρίζοντο. καίτοι καὶ Ἀριστομένη[5] φησὶν αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ζῶντα συναρπασθῆναι, καὶ Φιλοποίμην ὕστερον ὁ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν στρατηγὸς
857 ταὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἔπαθε, καὶ Ῥηγοῦλον ἐχειρώσαντο Καρχηδόνιοι τὸν[6] Ῥωμαίων ὕπατον· ὧν ἔργον εὑρεῖν μαχιμωτέρους καὶ πολεμικωτέρους ἄνδρας. ἀλλὰ θαυμάζειν οὐκ ἄξιον, ὅπου καὶ παρδάλεις ζώσας καὶ τίγρεις συναρπάζουσιν ἄνθρωποι· Ἡρόδοτος δὲ κατηγορεῖ τῶν βιασθεισῶν γυναικῶν, ἀπολογούμενος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁρπασάντων.

12. Οὕτω δὲ φιλοβάρβαρός ἐστιν, ὥστε Βούσιριν ἀπολύσας τῆς λεγομένης ἀνθρωποθυσίας καὶ ξενοκτονίας, καὶ πᾶσιν Αἰγυπτίοις ὁσιότητα[7] πολλὴν

[1] λέγωμεν Stephanus : λέγομεν (ο is a mere smudge in E).
[2] Λεύκτρου] Λευκτρίου suggested by Bernardakis, Σκεδάσου added by Xylander. [3] αὐταὶ Emperius : αὗται.
[4] ἐβούλοντο Basel edition, Emperius : ἐβουλεύοντο E : ἐβουλέατο B.
[5] Ἀριστομένη Basel edition, Turnebus : Ἀριστογένη.
[6] τὸν Reiske : τῶν. [7] ὁσιότητα Cobet : θειότητα.

[a] i. 4. 2. Herodotus offers this verdict as the opinion of the Persians, not as his own.

[b] The story was that some girls of Leuctra were raped by some Spartan envoys and killed themselves ; and the Spartan defeat at Leuctra, where their tomb was shown, was said to be the result of divine anger. Plutarch in *Mor.* 773 B–774 D calls them daughters of Scedasus (*cf. Life of Pelopidas*, chap. xx, Pausanias, ix. 13. 5-6), but Diodorus, xv. 54, says "daughters of Scedasus and Leuctrus." See also Xenophon, *Hell.* vi. 4. 7.

selves had wanted it." [a] Let us say, then, that the gods commit folly when they are angry with the Spartans because of the rape of the daughters of Leuctrus [b] and when they punish Ajax for outraging Cassandra, because, by Herodotean standards, "it is clear that if they had not themselves wanted it they would not have been outraged." Yet he says himself that Aristomenes was carried off alive by the Spartans,[c] and in later days the Achaean general Philopoemen suffered the same fate [d] and the Roman consul Regulus was captured by the Carthaginians [e] ; and it would be hard to find more valiant warriors than these men. Nor need we be surprised at such things, since even leopards and tigers are carried off alive by men ; but Herodotus makes these outraged women the object of an accusation and pleads in defence of the men who carried them off.[f]

12. He is also such a pro-barbarian that he acquits Busiris of the charge of human sacrifice and murder of strangers.[g] He bears witness to the strict piety and justice of all Egyptians [h] and turns this charge of

[c] A false quotation. Aristomenes, heroic leader of the Messenians in the struggle with Sparta, is not mentioned by Herodotus ; the story of his capture (on three separate occasions) is found only in later writers. *Cf.* Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, ii. 31, Pausanias, iv. 17. 1 and 18. 4.

[d] *Life of Philopoemen*, chap. xviii.

[e] In the First Punic War.

[f] No one claimed that Helen was "outraged" or followed Paris to Troy against her will. Plutarch, in the heat of argument, appears to forget this.

[g] The story was that the Egyptians tried to sacrifice Heracles but he turned on his captors and slew them (*cf.* the famous vase painting in Vienna, Pfuhl-Beazley, *Masterpieces of Greek Drawing and Painting*, no. 7). Herodotus, ii. 45, rejects the tale as showing ignorance of Egyptian customs (he does not mention Busiris by name). [h] *e.g.* ii. 37. 1.

(857) καὶ δικαιοσύνην μαρτυρήσας, ἐφ' Ἕλληνας ἀναστρέφει τὸ μύσος[1] τοῦτο καὶ τὴν μιαιφονίαν. ἐν γὰρ τῇ
B δευτέρᾳ βίβλῳ Μενέλαόν φησι παρὰ Πρωτέως ἀπολαβόντα τὴν Ἑλένην καὶ τιμηθέντα δωρεαῖς μεγάλαις ἀδικώτατον ἀνθρώπων γενέσθαι καὶ κάκιστον· ὑπὸ γὰρ ἀπλοίας συνεχόμενον " ἐπιτεχνήσασθαι πρᾶγμα οὐχ ὅσιον, καὶ λαβόντα δύο παιδία ἀνδρῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἔντομά σφεα[2] ποιῆσαι· μισηθέντα δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ διωκόμενον οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα τῇσι νησὶν[3] ἐπὶ Λιβύης." τοῦτον δὲ τὸν λόγον οὐκ οἶδ' ὅστις Αἰγυπτίων εἴρηκεν· ἀλλὰ τἀναντία πολλαὶ μὲν Ἑλένης πολλαὶ δὲ Μενελάου τιμαὶ διαφυλάττονται παρ' αὐτοῖς.

13. Ὁ δὲ συγγραφεὺς ἐπιμένων Πέρσας μέν φησι
C παισὶ[4] μίσγεσθαι[5] παρ' Ἑλλήνων μαθόντας. καίτοι πῶς Ἕλλησι Πέρσαι διδασκάλια ταύτης ὀφείλουσι τῆς ἀκολασίας, παρ' οἷς ὀλίγου δεῖν ὑπὸ πάντων ὁμολογεῖται[6] παῖδας ἐκτετμῆσθαι, πρὶν Ἑλληνικὴν ἰδεῖν θάλασσαν; Ἕλληνας δὲ μαθεῖν παρ' Αἰγυπτίων πομπὰς καὶ πανηγύρεις, καὶ τὸ τοὺς[7] δώδεκα θεοὺς σέβεσθαι· Διονύσου δὲ καὶ τοὔνομα παρ' Αἰγυπτίων Μελάμποδα μαθεῖν καὶ διδάξαι τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας· μυστήρια δὲ καὶ τὰς περὶ Δήμητρα[8] τελετὰς ὑπὸ τῶν Δαναοῦ θυγατέρων ἐξ

[1] μύσος B : μῖσος E.
[2] ἔντομά σφεα Wesseling (as in Herodotus) : ἐντομὰς . . . (lacuna of 5 letters).
[3] τῇσι νησὶν L. P. (as in Herodotus) : νησὶν Bernardakis : νησὶν ἤειν E : νησὶν ἰθὺ B.
[4] παισὶ supplied in Basel edition : omitted in MSS.
[5] μίσγεσθαι B : μίγεσθαι E.
[6] ὁμολογεῖται Stephanus : ὁμολογεῖσθαι.

abominable butchery back against the Greeks. His story, in his second book,[a] is that Menelaüs after recovering Helen from Proteus and being honoured with rich presents behaved like the most shocking criminal; prevented from sailing by bad weather, " he devised an unholy deed, seizing two boys from the native population and cutting them up as sacrificial victims; this roused a storm of hatred against him and he escaped his pursuers by sailing away towards Libya." I do not know what Egyptian may have told this story; but it is contradicted by the numerous honours still paid both to Helen and to Menelaüs in Egypt.[b]

13. But the historian sticks to his theme. He says that the Persians learnt the practice of paederasty from the Greeks.[c] Yet how is it possible that the Persians owe their lessons in this sensual practice to the Greeks, when almost everyone admits that they had practised the castration of boys before they ever saw the Greek sea? He says that the Greeks learnt about processions and national festivals from the Egyptians, as well as the worship of the twelve gods[d]; the very name of Dionysus, he says, was learnt from the Egyptians by Melampus, and he taught the rest of the Greeks[e]; and the mysteries and secret rituals connected with Demeter were brought from Egypt by the daughters of Danaüs.[f]

[a] ii. 119. He says it is the story told him by the Egyptian priests (120. 1).
[b] There is in fact no evidence that they were honoured by Egyptians.
[c] i. 135.
[d] ii. 4. 2; 58.
[e] ii. 49. 1.
[f] ii. 171. 2-3.

[7] τὸ τοὺς Kronenberg : τοὺς Reiske : τούτους τοὺς Bernardakis : τούτους.
[8] Δήμητρα Bernardakis : Δήμητραν (*cf. Mor.* 367 c).

(857) Αἰγύπτου κομισθῆναι. καὶ τύπτεσθαι μὲν Αἰγυπτίους φησὶ καὶ πενθεῖν, ὃν δὲ θεὸν[1] οὐ βούλεσθαι
D αὐτὸς[2] ὀνομάζειν, ἀλλ' εὐστόμως[3] κεῖσθαι περὶ τῶν θείων. Ἡρακλέα δὲ καὶ Διόνυσον οὓς μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι σέβονται, παλαιοὺς ἀποφαίνων ὄντας θεούς, οὓς Ἕλληνες δέ, ἀνθρώπους[4] καταγεγηρακότας, οὐδαμοῦ ταύτην προύθετο τὴν εὐλάβειαν. καίτοι καὶ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον Ἡρακλέα τῶν δευτέρων θεῶν γενέσθαι λέγει καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τῶν τρίτων, ὡς ἀρχὴν ἐσχηκότας γενέσεως καὶ οὐκ ὄντας ἀιδίους· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐκείνους μὲν ἀποφαίνει θεούς, τούτοις δ' ὡς φθιτοῖς καὶ ἥρωσιν ἐναγίζειν οἴεται δεῖν[5] ἀλλὰ
E μὴ θύειν ὡς θεοῖς. ταὐτὰ καὶ περὶ Πανὸς εἴρηκε, ταῖς Αἰγυπτίων ἀλαζονείαις καὶ μυθολογίαις τὰ σεμνότατα καὶ ἁγνότατα τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἱερῶν ἀνατρέπων.

14. Καὶ οὐ τοῦτο[6] δεινόν· ἀλλ' ἀναγαγὼν εἰς Περσέα τὸ Ἡρακλέους γένος Περσέα μὲν Ἀσσύριον γεγονέναι λέγει κατὰ τὸν Περσῶν λόγον· " οἱ δὲ Δωριέων," φησίν, " ἡγεμόνες φαίνοιντ' ἂν Αἰ-

[1] ὃν δὲ θεὸν (or ὃν δὲ) L. P. (*cf.* Herodotus, ii. 61 τὸν δὲ τύπτονται) : οὓς δὲ Reiske : τίνας δὲ Duebner : διὰ τί δὲ Turnebus : lacuna of 5-8 letters at end of line in MSS.

[2] αὐτὸς Reiske : αὐτοὺς.

[3] εὐστόμως] εὔστομά οἱ Madvig.

[4] οὓς μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι σέβονται, παλαιοὺς ἀποφαίνων ὄντας θεούς, οὓς Ἕλληνες δέ, ἀνθρώπους Madvig (παλαιοὺς added by L. P.) : οὓς μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι σέβονται ἀποφαινόμενος θεούς, οὓς δὲ Ἕλληνες ἀνθρώπους Reiske : οὓ μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι, ἀποφαίνων ὄντας θεούς, οὓ δ' Ἕλληνες, ἀνθρώπους Bernardakis : οὓς μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι ἀποφαίνονται θεούς, Ἕλληνες δὲ ἀνθρώπους.

[5] οἴεται δεῖν E : δεῖν οἴεται B.

[6] τοῦτο] τοῦτό πω Bernardakis.

[a] ii. 61. 1 : *cf.* 171. 2.

He says that the Egyptians beat their breasts and lament, but that he will not actually name the god for whom they mourn because " he will not break silence in holy matters." [a] Nevertheless in his treatment of Heracles and Dionysus he never showed any such reserve. He represents the Heracles and Dionysus whom the Egyptians worship as ancient gods, but those worshipped by the Greeks as men who grew old as men.[b] He does say, however, that the Egyptian Heracles was one of the second group of gods and Dionysus one of the third, so that they had a beginning to their existence and had not existed eternally [c] ; but even so he represents them as gods, while to the others he thinks it proper to " make offerings " as to heroized mortal men but not to " make sacrifice " as to gods.[d] He has said the same thing about Pan also, using worthless Egyptian stories to overthrow the most solemn and sacred truths of Greek religion.[e]

14. Nor is this the worst. He traces the ancestry of Heracles to Perseus and says that Perseus, according to the Persian account, was an Assyrian ; " and the chiefs of the Dorians," he says, " would be estab-

[b] The precise Greek text is uncertain, but the argument is clear. Herodotus could not accept the identity of the Egyptian Heracles and Dionysus with the Greek gods of this name, because they were said to be " ancient gods " who existed many thousand years before the dates generally accepted for the birth of their Greek counterparts (ii. 43-44, 145). Since Heracles was supposed to have been born and to have grown old as a man in Greece, Herodotus suggested that he and Dionysus might have been men who took the names of the old Egyptian gods (ii. 146). To Plutarch this argument seems impious.

[c] ii. 43 ; 145-146.

[d] ii. 44. 5.

[e] ii. 46. 1 ; 145. 1 (not exactly as Plutarch reports).

(857) γύπτιοι ἰθαγενέες ἐόντες, καταλέγοντι[1] τοὺς ἄνω Δανάης καὶ Ἀκρισίου[2] πατέρας." τὸν γὰρ Ἔπαφον καὶ τὴν Ἰὼ καὶ τὸν Ἴασον καὶ τὸν Ἄργον[3] ὅλως ἀφῆκε, φιλοτιμούμενος μὴ μόνον ἄλλους Ἡρακλεῖς Αἰγυπτίους καὶ Φοίνικας ἀποφαίνειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτον, ὃν αὐτὸς τρίτον γεγονέναι φησίν,
F εἰς βαρβάρους ἀποξενῶσαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος. καίτοι τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ λογίων ἀνδρῶν οὐχ Ὅμηρος οὐχ Ἡσίοδος οὐκ Ἀρχίλοχος οὐ Πείσανδρος οὐ Στησίχορος οὐκ Ἀλκμὰν οὐ Πίνδαρος Αἰγυπτίου ἔσχον λόγον[4] Ἡρακλέους ἢ Φοίνικος, ἀλλ' ἕνα τοῦτον ἴσασι πάντες Ἡρακλέα τὸν Βοιώτιον ὁμοῦ καὶ Ἀργεῖον.

15. Καὶ μὴν τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν, οὓς αὐτὸς σοφιστὰς προσεῖπε, τὸν μὲν Θάλητα Φοίνικα τῷ γένει τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ἀποφαίνεται βάρβαρον· τοῖς δὲ θεοῖς λοιδορούμενος ἐν τῷ Σόλωνος προσωπείῳ[5] ταῦτ' εἴρηκεν· " ὦ Κροῖσε, ἐπιστάμενόν με τὸ θεῖον πᾶν
858 ἐὸν φθονερόν τε καὶ ταραχῶδες ἐπειρωτᾷς ἀνθρωπηίων πραγμάτων πέρι "[6]· ἃ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐφρόνει περὶ τῶν θεῶν τῷ Σόλωνι προστριβόμενος κακοήθειαν τῇ βλασφημίᾳ προστίθησι. Πιττακῷ τοίνυν

[1] καταλέγοντι Meziriacus (as in Herodotus, vi. 53) : καταλέγοντες.
[2] ἄνω Δανάης καὶ Ἀκρισίου] ἄνω ἀπὸ Δανάης τῆς Ἀ. Meziriacus (*cf.* Herodotus).
[3] τὸν Ἄργον B : τὸ Ἄργος E.
[4] ἔσχον λόγον] λόγον ἔσχον Benseler.
[5] προσωπείῳ] προσώπῳ Cobet.
[6] πραγμάτων πέρι L. P. (as in Herodotus, i. 32) : πέρι πραγμάτων B : πράγματα E.

[a] vi. 53-54.

lished as pure-blooded Egyptians, if we counted their ancestry back beyond Danaë and Acrisius." [a] The fact is that he has completely abandoned Epaphus and Io and Iasus and Argus [b] ; not only is he anxious to establish an Egyptian and a Phoenician Heracles ; he says that our own Heracles was born after the other two, and he wants to remove him from Greece and make a foreigner out of him. Yet of the learned men of old neither Homer nor Hesiod nor Archilochus nor Peisander nor Stesichorus nor Alcman nor Pindar ever mentioned an Egyptian or a Phoenician Heracles, but all of them know only one, our own Heracles who is both Boeotian and Argive.

15. Then again among the Seven Sages (whom he calls " sophists ") [c] he represents Thales as a Phoenician by origin, of barbarian descent.[d] He has used Solon as a mouthpiece to revile the gods when he makes him say : " Croesus, when you question me about affairs of men, you are questioning a man who knows how utterly envious the divine nature is and how ready to confound us." [e] By thrusting upon Solon his own ideas about the gods he is combining blasphemy with malice.[f] He cites Pittacus for minor

[b] Danaüs, the " Egyptian " great-grandfather of Acrisius, is a Greek if descended from Epaphus, son of Io ; Iasus and Argus, according to one version, were father and grandfather of Io.
[c] The word " sophist " in early Greek writers simply means " wise man " (*cf.* Herodotus, i. 29 with the note of Legrand, Budé edition) and Plutarch must have known this. *Cf. Mor.* 478 c with Helmbold's note in L.C.L., vol. vi.
[d] i. 170. 3. According to the account in Diogenes Laertius i. 22 he was Phoenician because descended from Cadmus.
[e] i. 32. 1.
[f] In fact Solon's attitude towards the gods is not unusual and appears constantly in Greek literature.

(858) εἰς μικρὰ καὶ οὐκ ἄξια λόγου χρησάμενος, ὃ μέγιστόν ἐστι τῶν πεπραγμένων τἀνδρὶ καὶ κάλλιστον, ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι γενόμενος,[1] παρῆκε. πολεμούντων γὰρ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Μυτιληναίων[2] περὶ Σιγείου καὶ Φρύνωνος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν Ἀθηναίων προκαλεσαμένου[3] τὸν βουλόμενον εἰς μονομαχίαν, ἀπήντησεν ὁ Πιττακὸς καὶ δικτύῳ περιβαλὼν[4] τὸν ἄνδρα ῥωμαλέον ὄντα καὶ μέγαν ἀπέκτεινε· τῶν δὲ Μυτιληναίων δωρεὰς αὐτῷ μεγάλας διδόντων, ἀκοντίσας τὸ δόρυ τοῦτο μόνον τὸ χωρίον ἠξίωσεν ὅσον ἐπέσχεν ἡ αἰχμή· καὶ καλεῖται μέχρι νῦν Πιττάκειον.[5] τί οὖν ὁ Ἡρόδοτος, κατὰ τὸν τόπον γενόμενος τοῦτον; ἀντὶ τῆς Πιττακοῦ ἀριστείας[6] τὴν Ἀλκαίου διηγήσατο τοῦ ποιητοῦ φυγὴν[7] ἐκ τῆς μάχης, τὰ ὅπλα ῥίψαντος· τῷ τὰ μὲν χρηστὰ μὴ γράψαι τὰ δ' αἰσχρὰ μὴ παραλιπεῖν μαρτυρήσας τοῖς ἀπὸ μιᾶς[8] κακίας καὶ τὸν φθόνον φύεσθαι καὶ τὴν ἐπιχαιρεκακίαν λέγουσι.

16. Μετὰ ταῦτα τοὺς Ἀλκμεωνίδας,[9] ἄνδρας[10] γενομένους καὶ τὴν πατρίδα τῆς τυραννίδος ἐλευθερώσαντας, εἰς αἰτίαν ἐμβαλὼν προδοσίας δέξασθαί φησι τὸν Πεισίστρατον ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς καὶ συγκαταγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ γάμῳ τῆς Μεγακλέους θυγατρός· τὴν δὲ παῖδα πρὸς τὴν μητέρα φράσαι τὴν ἑαυτῆς ὅτι " ὦ μαμμίδιον, ὁρᾷς; οὐ μίγνυταί

[1] γενόμενος Reiske (who adds αὐτοῦ before πράξεσιν): γενόμενον.
[2] Μυτιληναίων Bernardakis : Μιτυληναίων (so also below).
[3] προκαλεσαμένου Pletho, Stephanus : προσκαλεσαμένου.
[4] περιβαλὼν B : περιλαβὼν E.
[5] Πιττάκειον Pletho, Cobet : Πιττάκιον.

details not worth mentioning,[a] but ignores the man's greatest and finest deed, though he had occasion to describe it. The Athenians and Mytilenians were at war over Sigeum and the Athenian general Phrynon challenged anyone who would come forward to single combat ; whereupon Pittacus came forward, trapped the man in a net and killed him, big strong man though he was. And when the Mytilenians offered him handsome rewards, he threw his spear and asked only for that extent of ground which it covered in its flight ; and to this day this piece of land is called Pittaceum. What does Herodotus do, then, when he comes to this point in his story ? Instead of the heroic exploit of Pittacus he describes how the poet Alcaeus fled from the battle, throwing away his arms.[b] By omitting the good and failing to omit the bad he gives support to the view that envy and delight in the misery of others are products of the same vice.[c]

16. Later on he attacks the Alcmaeonids, who proved themselves brave men in freeing their country from tyranny ; he charges them with treachery, saying that they received back Peisistratus from exile and restored him to power on condition that he marry the daughter of Megacles. Then his story is that the girl said to her mother, " Look, mamma ; Peisistratus

[a] i. 27. 2-4.
[b] v. 94-95.
[c] They are called " brothers " in *Mor.* 518 c.

[6] Πιττακοῦ ἀριστείας] ἀριστείας Πιττακοῦ Benseler.
[7] φυγὴν Stephanus, Xylander : φύσιν.
[8] μιᾶς] καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς added by Reiske.
[9] Ἀλκμεωνίδας Herwerden : Ἀλκμαιωνίδας (so also below, p. 32).
[10] ἄνδρας] ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς Herwerden.

(858) μοι κατὰ νόμον Πεισίστρατος." ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ τοὺς Ἀλκμεωνίδας τῷ παρανομήματι σχετλιάσαντας ἐξελάσαι τὸν τύραννον.

17. Ἵνα τοίνυν μηδ' οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἔλαττον ἔχωσι τῆς κακοηθείας, τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς μάλιστα θαυμαζόμενον καὶ τιμώμενον ὅρα πῶς
D διαλελύμανται, τὸν Ὀθρυάδαν· "τὸν δὲ ἕνα," φησί, "τὸν περιλειφθέντα τῶν τριηκοσίων αἰσχυνόμενον ἀπονοστέειν ἐς Σπάρτην, τῶν συλλοχιτέων διεφθαρμένων, αὐτοῦ μιν ἐν τῇσι Θυρέῃσι[1] καταχρήσασθαι[2] ἑωυτόν." ἄνω μὲν γὰρ ἀμφοτέροις ἐπίδικον εἶναι τὸ νίκημά φησιν, ἐνταῦθα δὲ τῇ αἰσχύνῃ τοῦ Ὀθρυάδου τὴν[3] ἧτταν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων κατεμαρτύρησεν· ἡττηθέντα μὲν γὰρ ζῆν αἰσχρὸν ἦν, περιγενέσθαι δὲ νικῶντα κάλλιστον.

18. Ἐῶ[4] τοίνυν ὅτι τὸν Κροῖσον ἀμαθῆ καὶ ἀλαζόνα καὶ γελοῖον φήσας ἐν πᾶσιν, ὑπὸ τούτου φησίν, αἰχμαλώτου γενομένου, καὶ παιδαγωγεῖσθαι καὶ νουθετεῖσθαι τὸν Κῦρον, ὃς φρονήσει καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ
E μεγαλονοίᾳ πολὺ πάντων δοκεῖ πεπρωτευκέναι τῶν βασιλέων· τῷ δὲ Κροίσῳ μηδὲν ἄλλο καλὸν ἢ τὸ τιμῆσαι τοὺς θεοὺς ἀναθήμασι πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις μαρτυρήσας, αὐτὸ τοῦτο πάντων ἀσεβέστατον ἀποδείκνυσιν ἔργον. ἀδελφὸν γὰρ αὐτοῦ[5] Πανταλέοντα[6]

[1] ἐν τῇσι Θυρέῃσι Bernardakis, following Xylander's ἐν ταῖσι Θυρέαισι (as in Herodotus, i. 82): ἔν τισι θυρένισι E: ἐν τοῖσι θυρέοισι B.
[2] καταχρήσασθαι Reiske (as in Herodotus): καταχώσασθαι.
[3] τὴν added by Benseler, not in MSS.
[4] ἐῶ Stephanus: ἐγὼ. [5] αὐτοῦ Herwerden: αὐτῷ.
[6] Πανταλέοντα Bernardakis (as in Herodotus): Παντολέοντα (so also below).

[a] i. 59-61. Herodotus does in fact describe the part played

does not have intercourse with me in the normal way," whereupon the Alcmaeonids, enraged at such behaviour, drove out the tyrant.[a]

17. He is determined, however, that the Spartans shall suffer from his malice just as much as the Athenians. Notice how roughly he has handled Othryadas, whom they particularly admired and honoured. "The one man of the three hundred who survived," he says, "was ashamed to return to Sparta when his companions in battle were killed, and he committed suicide on the spot at Thyreae."[b] The fact is that earlier he represented the victory as claimed by both sides, but here he presents the shame of Othryadas as evidence of the Spartan defeat, because it would be a disgrace to live on after defeat, but a high honour to survive after victory.

18. I will pass over the way in which he first represents Croesus as an ignorant braggart and a completely ludicrous figure,[c] and then, after he has been taken prisoner, shows him as the mentor and counsellor of Cyrus,[d] though Cyrus is supposed to be by far the greatest of all monarchs in intelligence and valour and nobility of character. The only virtue he allows to Croesus is that he honoured the gods with many great gifts; and even this he represents as the most ungodly behaviour imaginable. He says that

by the Alcmaeonids in finally freeing Athens from the tyranny (v. 62-63); and he is at pains to refute the charge that they tried to betray Athens at Marathon (vi. 121-124).

[b] i. 82. 8. 300 Spartans fought with 300 Argives to decide who should have the area of Thyreae.

[c] *Cf.* the stories in i. 27; 30-33; 53-56; 71; 75.

[d] i. 88-91. In *Life of Solon*, chap. xxvii, Plutarch tells the story of Solon's interview with Croesus, rejecting the argument that it is chronologically impossible and declaring it appropriate to Solon's character.

(858) περὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῷ[1] διαφέρεσθαι, ζῶντος ἔτι τοῦ πατρός· τὸν οὖν Κροῖσον, ὡς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν κατέστη, τῶν ἑταίρων καὶ φίλων τοῦ Πανταλέοντος
F ἕνα τῶν γνωρίμων ἐπὶ κνάφου[2] διαφθεῖραι καταξαινόμενον, ἐκ δὲ τῶν χρημάτων αὐτοῦ ποιησάμενον ἀναθήματα τοῖς θεοῖς ἀποστεῖλαι. Δηιόκην δὲ τὸν Μῆδον ἀρετῇ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ κτησάμενον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν οὐ φύσει γενέσθαι φησὶ[3] τοιοῦτον, ἐρασθέντα δὲ τυραννίδος ἐπιθέσθαι προσποιήματι δικαιοσύνης.

19. Ἀλλ' ἀφίημι τὰ τῶν[4] βαρβάρων· ἀφθονίαν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς πεποίηκεν. Ἀθηναίους τοίνυν καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων ἐπαισχύνεσθαι τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ, μὴ βουλομένους ἀλλὰ φεύγοντας Ἴωνας κεκλῆσθαι, τοὺς δὲ νομίζοντας αὐτῶν γενναιοτάτους[5] εἶναι καὶ ὁρμηθέντας ἀπὸ τοῦ πρυτανηίου τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐκ βαρβάρων παιδοποιήσασθαι γυναικῶν, πατέρας αὐτῶν καὶ ἄνδρας[6] καὶ παῖδας φονεύσαντας· διὸ τὰς γυναῖκας νόμον θέσθαι καὶ[7] ὅρκους ἐπελάσαι καὶ παραδοῦναι ταῖς θυγατράσι, μήποτε ὁμοσιτῆσαι τοῖς ἀνδράσι μηδ' ὀνομαστὶ βοῆσαι τὸν αὐτῆς ἄνδρα· καὶ τοὺς
859 νῦν ὄντας Μιλησίους ἐξ ἐκείνων γεγονέναι τῶν γυναικῶν. ὑπειπὼν δὲ καθαρῶς Ἴωνας γεγονέναι

[1] αὐτῷ] omitted in Basel edition.
[2] ἐπὶ κνάφου Salmasius (as in Herodotus): ἐπινάφου E: ἐπὶ νάφου B: ἐπὶ νάφου Aldine edition.
[3] φησὶ B: ησὶ E.
[4] τὰ τῶν (των) B: τῶν E.
[5] γενναιοτάτους B: γενναιότατον E.

his brother Pantaleon disputed the kingship with him when their father was still alive; and that when Croesus became king he killed one of the nobles, who was a friend and supporter of Pantaleon, by stripping his skin from him on a carding comb, and turned his property into gifts which he sent off to the gods.[a] He also says that Deïoces the Mede, whose high character and justice won him the kingship, was not naturally such a person, but that when he conceived a desire for absolute power he set out to win a reputation for justice.[b]

19. But never mind his treatment of barbarians; he has been only too generous with examples on the Greek side. He says that the Athenians and most of the other Ionians are ashamed of the Ionian name, that they do not wish to be called Ionians, but shun the title; and that those who came from the Prytaneum of Athens and considered themselves the noblest Ionians fathered children by barbarian women, whose fathers and husbands and children they had slaughtered; and that for this reason those women established a law and bound themselves by oaths, which they passed on to their daughters, never to take a meal with their husbands or to call them by name; and he says that the Milesians of to-day are descendants of these women.[c] He adds that the true Ionians are those who celebrate the Apaturia festi-

[a] *Cf.* i. 92 (but this is not the only source of Croesus' offerings).
[b] A slight distortion of i. 96.
[c] An unskilful (or deliberately misleading) summary and combination of two sentences in Herodotus, i. 143. 3 and 146. 2-3.

[6] καὶ ἄνδρας added by Reiske, not in MSS.
[7] καὶ added by Bernardakis, not in MSS.

(859) τοὺς Ἀπατούρια ἄγοντας[1] ἑορτήν, " ἄγουσι δὲ πάντες," φησί, " πλὴν Ἐφεσίων καὶ Κολοφωνίων." τούτους μὲν[2] οὕτως ἐκκέκλεικε τῆς εὐγενείας.

20. Πακτύην δ' ἀποστάντα Κύρου φησὶ[3] Κυμαίους καὶ Μυτιληναίους ἐκδιδόναι παρασκευάζεσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον " ἐπὶ μισθῷ ὅσῳ δή,[4] οὐ γὰρ ἔχω γε εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως " (εὖ τὸ μὴ διαβεβαιοῦσθαι πόσος ἦν ὁ μισθός, τηλικοῦτο δ' Ἑλληνίδι πόλει προσβαλεῖν ὄνειδος, ὡς δὴ σαφῶς εἰδότα)· Χίους
B μέντοι τὸν Πακτύην κομισθέντα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἱροῦ Ἀθηναίης πολιούχου ἐκδοῦναι, καὶ ταῦτα ποιῆσαι τοὺς Χίους τὸν Ἀταρνέα μισθὸν λαβόντας. καίτοι Χάρων ὁ Λαμψακηνός, ἀνὴρ πρεσβύτερος,[5] ἐν τοῖς περὶ Πακτύην λόγοις γενόμενος, τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν οὔτε Μυτιληναίοις οὔτε Χίοις ἄγος προστέτριπται· ταυτὶ δὲ κατὰ λέξιν γέγραφε, " Πακτύης δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο προσελαύνοντα τὸν στρατὸν τὸν Περσικὸν ᾤχετο φεύγων ἄρτι μὲν εἰς Μυτιλήνην, ἔπειτα δὲ[6] εἰς Χίον· καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκράτησε Κῦρος."

21. Ἐν δὲ τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν βίβλων[7] διηγούμενος τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπὶ Πολυκράτη[8] τὸν τύραννον
C στρατείαν, αὐτοὺς[9] μὲν οἴεσθαί φησι καὶ λέγειν Σαμίους, ὡς χάριν ἐκτίνοντες αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐπὶ Μεσ-

[1] τοὺς Ἀπατούρια ἄγοντας] Bernardakis suggests τοὺς ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν γεγονότας καὶ Ἀπατούρια ἄγοντας.
[2] μὲν] μὲν οὖν Bernardakis.
[3] Bernardakis would amplify φησὶν εἰς Κύμην φυγεῖν· Κυμαίους δ' ἐκπέμψαι πρὸς Μυτιληναίους, καὶ Μυτιληναίους . . .
[4] ὅσῳ δή Reiske, as in Herodotus: short lacuna at end of line in MSS.
[5] πρεσβύτερος] Ἡροδότου πρεσβύτερος Reiske.
[6] δὲ] omitted in E.
[7] βίβλων Xylander: κύκλων.
[8] Πολυκράτη E: Πολυκράτην B.

val; " and all celebrate it," he says, " except the Ephesians and Colophonians." [a] This is the way, then, in which he denies these people their claim to noble lineage.

20. He says that when Pactyas revolted against Cyrus the people of Cymê and Mytilenê made arrangements to surrender the man " for a certain price, though I cannot state the exact amount " [b] (a fine thing this, to refuse to state what the price was, and yet to brand a Greek city with this mark of infamy, as though he were sure of his facts). " But the people of Chios," he says, " when Pactyas came to their country, removed him from the temple of Athena Poliuchus and handed him over; and they did so in return for the territory of Atarneus which they received as a reward." [c] The fact is, however, that Charon of Lampsacus, an older writer, in his account of Pactyas, has not dishonoured the Mytilenians or the Chians with any such taint of guilt; his actual words are: " When Pactyas learnt that the Persian army was approaching, he took flight, going first to Mytilenê, then to Chios; and Cyrus captured him." [d]

21. In his third book when he describes the Spartan expedition against the tyrant Polycrates, he says that, according to what the Samians themselves think and say, the Spartans made the expedition in gratitude for

[a] i. 147. 1-2 (again not quite a fair report).
[b] A highly compressed and somewhat misleading account of i. 157-160; but there may be something missing in the text (see critical note).
[c] i. 160. 4. Atarneus is on the mainland facing Chios.
[d] Jacoby, *Frag. Gr. Hist.* iii A, no. 262, F. 9. Jacoby disputes the statement that Charon is an older writer than Herodotus.

[9] αὐτοὺς Amyot, Xylander (*cf.* Herodotus, iii. 47): αὐτὸς.

(859) σηνίους[1] βοηθείας στρατεύσειαν, τούς τε φεύγοντας κατάγοντες τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τῷ τυράννῳ πολεμοῦντες· ἀρνεῖσθαι δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ λέγειν ὡς οὐ βοηθοῦντες οὐδ' ἐλευθεροῦντες ἀλλὰ τιμωρούμενοι Σαμίους στρατεύσαιντο, κρατῆρά τινα πεμπόμενον Κροίσῳ παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ θώρακα πάλιν παρ' Ἀμάσιδος κομιζόμενον αὐτοῖς ἀφελομένους. καίτοι πόλιν ἐν τοῖς τότε χρόνοις[2] οὔτε φιλότιμον οὕτως οὔτε μισοτύραννον ἴσμεν ὡς τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων γενομένην· ποίου γὰρ ἕνεκα θώρακος ἢ τίνος κρατῆρος ἑτέρου Κυψελίδας μὲν
D ἐξέβαλον ἐκ Κορίνθου καὶ Ἀμπρακίας ἐκ δὲ Νάξου[3] Λύγδαμιν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν δὲ τοὺς Πεισιστράτου παῖδας ἐκ δὲ Σικυῶνος Αἰσχίνην ἐκ Θάσου δὲ Σύμμαχον ἐκ δὲ Φωκέων Αὖλιν ἐκ Μιλήτου δ' Ἀριστογένη, τὴν δ' ἐν Θετταλοῖς δυναστείαν ἔπαυσαν, Ἀριστομήδη καὶ Ἀγέλαον[4] καταλύσαντες διὰ Λεωτυχίδου τοῦ βασιλέως; περὶ ὧν ἐν ἄλλοις ἀκριβέστερον γέγραπται. κατὰ δ' Ἡρόδοτον οὔτε κακίας οὔτ'

[1] Μεσσηνίους Bernardakis (as in Herodotus): Μεσσήνης.
[2] Bernardakis would add οὐδεμίαν.
[3] Νάξου Turnebus, Xylander: ξενάγου.
[4] Ἀγέλαον Hubert: Ἄγελλον E: Ἄγγελον B.

[a] iii. 47.

[b] The Cypselid tyrants controlled their colonies in the N.W. through members of their family. It is hard to see how Sparta could have interfered actively in Ambracia, and according to Aristotle, *Politics*, v. 1304 a, the tyrant there was dethroned by a democratic uprising; *cf.* H. R. W. Smith, *Univ. of California Publications in Classical Archaeology*, i, p. 263. In Corinth the Corinthians probably expelled their tyrants without external help. *Cf.* Nicolaüs of Damascus, *Frag. Gr. Hist.* ii A, no. 90, F. 60, with Jacoby's commentary; but see also D. E. W. Wormell, *Hermathena*, lxvi (1945), p. 18.

Samian help against the Messenians, restoring the citizens who had been exiled and making war against the tyrant. But he says the Spartans deny this explanation and claim to have made the expedition, not with any intent to help or liberate the Samians, but to punish them for appropriating a mixing bowl that they were sending to Croesus and also a breastplate which was on the way to them from Amasis.[a] Nevertheless we know of no city at that date which was so ambitious for honour or so hostile to tyrants as Sparta. Was it for some such breastplate or mixing bowl that they expelled the Cypselids from Corinth and Ambracia,[b] Lygdamis from Naxos,[c] the sons of Peisistratus from Athens, Aeschines from Sicyon,[d] Symmachus from Thasos, Aulis from Phocis, and Aristogenes from Miletus,[e] and put down the power of the Thessalian overlords when King Leotychides deposed Aristomedes and Agelaüs ?[f] These are events which have been described more fully in other authors. But according to Herodotus the Spartans sank to the

[c] A protégé of Peisistratus. No other author says that the Spartans expelled him; they *might* have done so at the time of the Samian expedition.

[d] *Cf.* the unknown author of *Rylands Papyri*, i, no. 18 (*Frag. Gr. Hist.* ii A, no. 105, F. 1); Aeschines is not mentioned elsewhere. See also T. Lenschau, *Philologus*, xci (1936), pp. 183-184.

[e] Even the names and dates of these tyrants are unknown; and Spartan interference in Thasos and Miletus is hard to believe. For tyrants at Miletus *cf.* Tod, *Gk. Historical Inscriptions*, i, no. 35.

[f] The names of these Thessalians are unfamiliar; but when Leotychides led a Spartan force to Thessaly to punish the powerful Aleuadae for their medism in the Persian Wars, Herodotus says that they bribed him to leave them in power and that he was exiled from Sparta in consequence (vi. 72; *cf.* Pausanias, iii. 7. 9).

(859) ἀβελτερίας ὑπερβολὴν λελοίπασιν, εἰ τὴν καλλίστην καὶ δικαιοτάτην τῆς στρατείας ἀρνούμενοι πρόφασιν ὡμολόγουν διὰ μνησικακίαν καὶ μικρολογίαν ἐπιτίθεσθαι δυστυχοῦσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ κακῶς πράττουσιν.

E 22. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν ἀμωσγέπως[1] ὑποπεσόντας αὐτοῦ τῷ γραφείῳ προσέχρωσε· τὴν δὲ Κορινθίων πόλιν, ἐκτὸς δρόμου κατὰ τοῦτον οὖσαν τὸν τόπον, ὅμως προσπεριλαβὼν ὁδοῦ, φασί,[2] πάρεργον ἀνέπλησεν[3] αἰτίας δεινῆς καὶ μοχθηροτάτης διαβολῆς. "συνεπελάβοντο γάρ," φησί, "τοῦ στρατεύματος τοῦ ἐπὶ Σάμον[4] ὥστε γενέσθαι

F καὶ Κορίνθιοι προθύμως,[5] ὕβρίσματος εἰς αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ Σαμίων πρότερον ὑπάρξαντος. ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτο· Κερκυραίων παῖδας τριακοσίους τῶν πρώτων[6] Περίανδρος ὁ Κορίνθου τύραννος ἐπ' ἐκτομῇ παρ' Ἀλυάττην[7] ἔπεμπε· τούτους ἀποβάντας εἰς τὴν νῆσον οἱ Σάμιοι διδάξαντες ἐν ἱερῷ Ἀρτέμιδος ἱκέτας καθίζεσθαι καὶ τρωκτὰ προτιθέντες[8] αὐτοῖς ὁσημέραι σησάμου καὶ μέλιτος περιεποίησαν." τοῦθ' ὕβρισμα Σαμίων εἰς Κορινθίους ὁ συγγραφεὺς προσαγορεύει καὶ διὰ τοῦτό φησι συμπαροξῦναι Λακεδαιμονίους κατ' αὐτῶν ἔτεσιν οὐκ ὀλίγοις ὕστερον, ἔγκλημα ποιησαμένους ὅτι τριακοσίους παῖδας Ἑλλήνων ἐφύλαξαν ἄνδρας. ὁ δὲ τοῦτο Κορινθίοις προστριβόμενος τοὔνειδος ἀποφαίνει τοῦ τυράννου μοχθηροτέραν

[1] ἀμωσγέπως Reiske : ἄλλως γέ πως.
[2] φασί Xylander : φησί.
[3] ἀνέπλησεν E : ἐνέπλησεν B.
[4] τοῦ ἐπὶ Σάμον Reiske (as in Herodotus) : ἐπὶ Σάμῳ.
[5] καὶ Κορίνθιοι προθύμως Stephanus (as in Herodotus) Κορινθίοις προθύμου E : Κορινθίοις προθύμου B.

lowest depths of baseness and stupidity, if they denied the most honourable and just explanation for their campaign and admitted a petty vindictiveness as their reason for attacking men in misery and misfortune.

22. Still it must be admitted that the Spartans were, after a fashion, proper subjects for his pen when he blackened their character like this. The city of the Corinthians was not directly in his path at all on this occasion ; but even so he seized the opportunity of a diversion, as the saying is, and made them the objects of a shocking accusation and a monstrous slander. "The Corinthians," he says, "were vigorous supporters of the expedition against Samos, as an affront had previously been offered to them by the Samians. What happened was this. Periander was sending three hundred boys from the leading families in Corcyra to Alyattes to be made eunuchs ; and when they went ashore on the island, the Samians instructed them to sit down as suppliants in the temple of Artemis, provided them daily with cakes of sesame and honey, and saved them from their fate." [a] This is what the historian calls the "Samian affront to the Corinthians" and this is the reason, he says, why many years later they abetted the Spartans in their quarrel—making it a ground for complaint that the Samians preserved the manhood of three hundred Greek boys ! A writer who foists this shameful act on the Corinthians is representing the city as worse

[a] An inaccurate summary of iii. 48.

[6] τῶν πρώτων] ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων Herodotus.
[7] Ἀλυάττην editors : Ἀλυάτην B : Ἀλυάτην E. The text of Herodotus is παρ' Ἀλυάττεα ἐπ' ἐκτομῇ.
[8] προτιθέντες E : περιτιθέντες B.

(859) τὴν πόλιν· ἐκεῖνος μέν γε[1] τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ[2] Κερκυραίους ἀνελόντας[3] ἠμύνατο, Κορίνθιοι δὲ τί παθόντες ἐτιμωροῦντο Σαμίους ἐμποδὼν στάντας ὠμότητι καὶ παρανομίᾳ τοσαύτῃ, καὶ ταῦτα μετὰ τρεῖς γενεὰς ὀργὴν καὶ μνησικακίαν ἀναφέροντες ὑπὲρ τυ-
860 ραννίδος, ἧς καταλυθείσης πᾶν τε[4] μνῆμα καὶ πᾶν ἴχνος ἐξαλείφοντες καὶ ἀφανίζοντες οὐκ ἐπαύοντο, χαλεπῆς καὶ βαρείας αὐτοῖς γενομένης;

Ἀλλὰ δὴ τὸ μὲν ὕβρισμα τοιοῦτον[5] ἦν τὸ Σαμίων εἰς Κορινθίους· τὸ δὲ τιμώρημα ποῖόν τι τὸ Κορινθίων εἰς Σαμίους; εἰ γὰρ ὄντως ὠργίζοντο Σαμίοις, οὐ παροξύνειν, ἀποτρέπειν δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς ἦν προσῆκον Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπὶ Πολυκράτη
B στρατευομένους, ὅπως μὴ[6] τοῦ τυράννου καταλυθέντος ἐλεύθεροι Σάμιοι γένοιντο καὶ παύσαιντο δουλεύοντες. ὃ δὲ μέγιστόν ἐστι, τί δήποτε Κορίνθιοι Σαμίοις μὲν ὠργίζοντο βουληθεῖσι σῶσαι καὶ μὴ δυνηθεῖσι Κερκυραίων[7] παῖδας, Κνιδίοις δὲ τοῖς σώσασι καὶ ἀποδοῦσιν[8] οὐκ ἐνεκάλουν; καίτοι Κερκυραῖοι Σαμίων μὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ λόγον οὐ πολὺν ἔχουσι, Κνιδίων δὲ μέμνηνται καὶ Κνιδίοις εἰσὶ τι-

[1] γε] γὰρ Meziriacus.
[2] αὐτοῦ] αὑτοῦ Stephanus.
[3] ἀνελόντας Meziriacus, Reiske : ἀνελόντα.
[4] τε Reiske : τὸ.
[5] τοιοῦτον B : τοιοῦτο E.
[6] μὴ E : μηδὲ B.
[7] Κερκυραίων] τοὺς Κερκυραίων early editors.
[8] ἀποδοῦσιν E : ἀποδιδοῦσιν B.

[a] iii. 53. 7.

[b] In the third generation, according to the Greek way of counting. It is only one generation later according to

than the tyrant; he struck at the Corcyreans for the murder of his son [a]; but what happened to the Corinthians that they should want to punish the Samians for standing in the way of such criminal savagery? And, furthermore, that they should still be angry and bear a grudge two generations later [b] in the cause of a tyranny, every memory and every trace of which, after its fall, they never ceased trying to obliterate and destroy, since it had been a severe and oppressive régime.[c]

Or suppose we grant this "affront" to the Corinthians by the Samians. What sort of punishment is this that the Corinthians inflict on them? If they were really angry with the Samians, they ought not to have abetted the Spartans, but to have deterred them from the expedition against Polycrates; in this way the tyrant would not be deposed, the Samians would not win freedom, and their slavery would continue. But here is the biggest difficulty: how did it happen that the Corinthians were angry with the Samians for wanting to save the boys and failing to do so, but made no complaint against the Cnidians who did save them and return them to Corcyra?[d] The Corcyreans, in fact, do not pay much attention to the Samians' part in this affair; it is the Cnidians whom they remember and who are honoured in Cor-

Herodotus iii. 48. 1, if the traditional text is correct (but *cf.* the emendation and note of Legrand in the Budé edition). For discussion of the chronological problem (the dating of the Corinthian tyrants) see T. Lenschau, *Philologus*, xci (1936), pp. 278-283 and H. R. W. Smith, *Univ. of California Publications in Classical Archaeology*, i, pp. 254-266.

[c] *Cf.* the speech of the Corinthians in v. 92. On this story see R. L. Beaumont, *J.H.S.* lvi (1936), pp. 173-174.

[d] But according to Herodotus, iii. 48. 4, the Samians were successful in getting the boys back to Corcyra.

(860) μαὶ καὶ ἀτέλειαι καὶ ψηφίσματα παρ' αὐτοῖς· οὗτοι γὰρ ἐπιπλεύσαντες ἐξήλασαν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοὺς Περι-
C άνδρου φύλακας, αὐτοὶ δ' ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς παῖδας εἰς Κέρκυραν διεκόμισαν, ὡς Ἀντήνωρ ἐν τοῖς Κρητικοῖς[1] ἱστόρηκε καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς ἐν ταῖς Κτίσεσιν.

Ὅτι δ' οὐ τιμωρούμενοι Σαμίους ἀλλ' ἐλευθεροῦντες ἀπὸ τοῦ τυράννου καὶ σῴζοντες ἐστράτευσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Σαμίοις αὐτοῖς ἔστι χρήσασθαι μάρτυσιν. Ἀρχίᾳ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ Σπαρτιάτῃ λαμπρῶς ἀγωνισαμένῳ τότε καὶ πεσόντι τάφον εἶναι δημοσίᾳ κατεσκευασμένον ἐν Σάμῳ καὶ τιμώμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν λέγουσι· διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἀπογόνους τἀνδρὸς ἀεὶ διατελεῖν Σαμίοις οἰκείως καὶ φιλανθρώπως προσφερομένους, ὡς αὐτὸς Ἡρόδοτος ταῦτα γοῦν ἀπομεμαρτύρηκεν.

23. Ἐν δὲ τῇ πέμπτῃ, τῶν ἀρίστων Ἀθήνησι καὶ πρώτων ἀνδρῶν Κλεισθένη μὲν ἀναπεῖσαί φησι
D τὴν Πυθίαν ψευδόμαντιν γενέσθαι, προφέρουσαν ἀεὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐλευθεροῦν ἀπὸ τῶν τυράννων[2] τὰς Ἀθήνας, καλλίστῳ μὲν ἔργῳ καὶ δικαιοτάτῳ προσάπτων ἀσεβήματος διαβολὴν τηλικούτου καὶ ῥᾳδιουργήματος, ἀφαιρούμενος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ μαντείαν καλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν καὶ τῆς λεγομένης συμπροφητεύειν Θέμιδος ἀξίαν. Ἰσαγόραν δὲ τῆς γαμετῆς ὑφίεσθαι Κλεομένει φοιτῶντι παρ' αὐτήν· ὡς δ' εἰώθει, παραμιγνὺς πίστεως ἕνεκα τοῖς ψόγοις ἐπαί-
E νους τινάς, " Ἰσαγόρης δέ," φησίν, " ὁ Τισάνδρου

[1] ἐν τοῖς Κρητικοῖς Kaltwasser : τε ὁ Κρητικὸς.
[2] τυράννων : MSS. add ἀεί.

[a] No inscriptions survive from Corcyra recording any such resolutions. [b] *Frag. Gr. Hist.* iii B, no. 463, F. 2.

cyra with grants of special privileges and resolutions commending them [a]—because they were the ones who sailed in and drove Periander's guards away from the temple ; and they picked up the boys and brought them back to Corcyra, as is described by Antenor in his *History of Crete* [b] and by Dionysius the Chalcidian in his *Foundings of Cities*.[c]

On the other hand, we have the evidence of the Samians themselves that the Spartans made this expedition not to punish the Samians but to save them and free them from their tyrant. They say that a Spartan called Archias fought and died heroically on that occasion and that they, at public expense, built a tomb for him which they hold in honour ; and that in consequence the descendants of Archias still have close ties of friendship with the Samians ; and these are details to which Herodotus himself bears witness.[d]

23. In the fifth book he says that Cleisthenes, a member of one of the leading noble families in Athens, persuaded the Delphic prophetess to deliver counterfeit responses, when she continually told the Spartans to free Athens from its tyrants.[e] Thus he attaches the charge of grave impiety and fraud to a noble upright action and he denies all credit to the god for a noble and honourable response, worthy of Themis who is said to have a part in these responses. He says also that Isagoras connived at the attentions paid by Cleomenes to his wife [f] ; and, in his usual way, so as to appear convincing, he mingles some expressions of praise with his fault-finding : " Isagoras," he says, " the son of Tisander, came of a

[c] Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* iv, p. 396, fr. 13.
[d] iii. 55. [e] v. 63. 1.
[f] v. 70. 1 (recorded as rumour, not as fact).

(860) οἰκίης μὲν ἦν δοκίμου, ἀτὰρ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι· θύουσι δὲ οἱ συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ Διὶ Καρίῳ." εὔρυθμός γε[1] καὶ πολιτικὸς ὁ μυκτὴρ τοῦ συγγραφέως, εἰς Κᾶρας ὥσπερ εἰς κόρακας ἀποδιοπομπουμένου τὸν Ἰσαγόραν. Ἀριστογείτονα μέντοι οὐκέτι κύκλῳ καὶ κακῶς,[2] ἀλλ' ἄντικρυς διὰ πυλῶν εἰς Φοινίκην ἐξελαύνει, Γεφυραῖον γεγονέναι λέγων ἀνέκαθεν· τοὺς δὲ Γεφυραίους οὐκ ἀπ' Εὐ-
F βοίας οὐδ'[3] Ἐρετριεῖς,[4] ὥσπερ οἴονταί τινες, ἀλλὰ Φοίνικας εἶναί φησιν, αὐτὸς οὕτω πεπυσμένος.[5]

Ἀφελέσθαι τοίνυν Λακεδαιμονίους μὴ δυνάμενος τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἐλευθέρωσιν[6] ἀπὸ τῶν τυράννων αἰσχίστῳ πάθει κάλλιστον ἔργον οἷός τ' ἐστὶν ἀφανίζειν καὶ καταισχύνειν. ταχὺ γὰρ μετανοῆσαι φησιν αὐτούς, ὡς οὐ ποιήσαντας ὀρθῶς, ὅτι "κιβδήλοισι[7] μαντηίοισιν ἐπαρθέντες ἄνδρας ξείνους ὄντας αὐτοῖσι καὶ ὑποσχομένους ὑποχειρίας παρέξειν τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐξήλασαν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος τοὺς τυράννους[8] καὶ δήμῳ ἀχαρίστῳ παρέδωκαν τὴν πόλιν." εἶτα μεταπεμψαμένους Ἱππίαν ἀπὸ Σιγείου κατάγειν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας· ἀντιστῆναι δὲ
861 Κορινθίους αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀποτρέψαι,[9] Σωκλέους[10] διελθόντος ὅσα Κύψελος καὶ Περίανδρος κακὰ[11] τὴν

[1] γε Reiske : τε.
[2] καὶ κακῶς E : κακῶς B : πως Wyttenbach : πλαγίως Kronenberg.
[3] οὐδ'] Reiske would delete.
[4] Ἐρετριεῖς] Bernardakis suggests Ἐρετρίας (Herodotus has ἐξ Ἐρετρίης).
[5] πεπυσμένος Reiske : πεπεισμένος (Herodotus has ἀναπυνθανόμενος).
[6] ἐλευθέρωσιν E and in margin of B : ἐλευθερίαν B.
[7] κιβδήλοισι B : κιβδήλησι E.
[8] τοὺς τυράννους] Cobet would delete.
[9] ἀποτρέψαι Cobet : ἀποστρέψαι.

distinguished family, but I know nothing of its more remote origin, except that his kinsmen sacrifice to Carian Zeus." [a] Our historian certainly knows how to sneer gracefully like a gentleman, getting rid of Isagoras by consigning him "to the carrion heap of Caria," as it were [b]; but with Aristogeiton he uses no such cowardly circuitous methods; he drives him straight out through the gate to Phoenicia, saying he was a Gephyraean by descent, "and the Gephyraeans are not Eretrians from Euboea, as some people think, but—as I have discovered for myself—are Phoenicians." [c]

Now he cannot deny that the Spartans freed Athens from its tyrants; but he does succeed in belittling and denigrating their glorious deed by attributing a most unworthy reaction to them. He says that they soon repented, deciding that they had made a mistake and had been carried away by counterfeit oracles; they considered that in driving out the tyrants from the country they had driven out their own friends, who had promised to make Athens subject to them, and so had put the city into the hands of an ungrateful democracy. Accordingly he has them send for Hippias from Sigeum and try to bring him back to power in Athens, only to find the Corinthians resisting them and dissuading them; and he makes Socles describe all the harm that Cypselus and Periander did to the

[a] v. 66. 1.
[b] As though he were an unclean thing, a scapegoat, who is generally driven out through a gate of the city (*cf.* *Mor.* 518 B), like Aristogeiton in the next sentence. For the language *cf.* Plato, *Cratylus*, 396 E.
[c] v. 55; 57. 1.

[10] Σωκλέους] Σωσικλέους anonymous early corrector.
[11] κακὰ Wyttenbach : κατὰ.

(861) Κορινθίων πόλιν εἰργάσαντο τυραννοῦντες. καίτοι Περιάνδρου σχετλιώτερον οὐδὲν οὐδ' ὠμότερον ἔργον ἱστορεῖται[1] τῆς ἐκπομπῆς[2] τῶν τριακοσίων ἐκείνων, οὓς ἐξαρπάσασι καὶ διακωλύσασι παθεῖν ταῦτα Σαμίοις ὀργίζεσθαί φησι καὶ μνησικακεῖν Κορινθίους ὥσπερ ὑβρισθέντας. τοσαύτης ἀναπίμπλησι ταραχῆς καὶ διαφωνίας τὸ κακόηθες αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον,[3] ἐξ ἁπάσης τῇ διηγήσει προφάσεως ὑποδυόμενον.

24. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐφεξῆς τὰ περὶ Σάρδεις διηγούμενος, ὡς ἐνῆν μάλιστα διέλυσε καὶ διελυμήνατο τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἃς μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι ναῦς ἐξέπεμψαν Ἴωσι τιμωροὺς ἀποστᾶσι βασιλέως ἀρχεκάκους τολμήσας προσειπεῖν, ὅτι τοσαύτας πόλεις καὶ τηλικαύτας Ἑλληνίδας ἐλευθεροῦν ἐπεχείρησαν ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, Ἐρετριέων δὲ κομιδῇ μνησθεὶς ἐν παρέργῳ καὶ παρασιωπήσας μέγα κατόρθωμα καὶ ἀοίδιμον. ἤδη γὰρ ὡς τῶν[4] περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν συγκεχυμένων[5] καὶ στόλου βασιλικοῦ προσπλέοντος, ἀπαντήσαντες ἔξω Κυπρίους ἐν τῷ Παμφυλίῳ πελάγει κατεναυμάχησαν[6]· εἶτ' ἀναστρέψαντες ὀπίσω καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ καταλιπόντες ἐπέθεντο Σάρδεσι καὶ Ἀρταφέρνην ἐπολιόρκουν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καταφυγόντα, βουλόμενοι τὴν Μιλήτου λῦσαι πολιορκίαν· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἔπραξαν καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους

[1] ἱστορεῖται E : ἐστορεῖται B : ἐστὶν εἶπας Aldine edition : εἶπας Basel edition.
[2] ἐκπομπῆς] ἐκτομῆς Leonicus, Stephanus.
[3] τὸν λόγον E : τῶν λόγων B.
[4] τῶν Wyttenbach : lacuna of 5 letters in MSS. : more elaborate supplements by early editors.
[5] συγκεχυμένων Wyttenbach : συγκεχυμέν.ν E : συγκεχυμένην B.

city of the Corinthians when they were tyrants.[a] The fact is, however, that no more brutal and savage deed is recorded of Periander than his sending off of the three hundred boys ; but when the Samians seized them and rescued them from their fate, he says that the Corinthians were angry and resentful, as though they were " affronted." Thus we see how his malice, which creeps into his narrative on any excuse at all, fills his history with confusion and inconsistency.

24. Later on, in describing the attack on Sardis, he does all he can to misrepresent and disparage the exploit. He has the impertinence to say that the ships which the Athenians sent to support the Ionians in their revolt against the king were " the beginning of disaster," [b] because they attempted to free all these great Greek cities from the Barbarian ; and he mentions the Eretrians only quite casually and passes over their great epic achievement in silence.[c] The facts are that when confusion had already struck in Ionia [d] and the king's fleet was on the way, they went out to meet it and won a naval victory over the Cyprians in the Pamphylian Sea ; then they turned back, left their ships at Ephesus, and attacked Sardis and kept up the siege of the acropolis where Artaphernes had taken refuge. Their intention was to raise the siege of Miletus ; and they succeeded in doing this, causing the enemy troops to withdraw in

[a] v. 91-92 (in some MSS. of Herodotus the name is given as Sosicles).
[b] v. 97. 3.
[c] v. 99 ; 102. 3.
[d] Something may be missing from the text here.

[6] A different text is implied in Pletho's paraphrase : στόλῳ βασιλικῷ ἐκ Κύπρου τῇ Ἰωνίᾳ προσπλέοντι ἔξω ἐν τῷ Παμφυλίῳ πελάγει ἀπαντήσαντες κατεναυμάχησαν.

(861) ἀνέστησαν ἐκεῖθεν, ἐν φόβῳ θαυμαστῷ γενομένους· πλήθους δ' ἐπιχυθέντος αὐτοῖς ἀπεχώρησαν. ταῦτα δ' ἄλλοι τε καὶ Λυσανίας ὁ Μαλλώτης ἐν τοῖς περὶ Ἐρετρίας εἴρηκε· καὶ καλῶς εἶχεν, εἰ καὶ[1] διὰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, τῇ γοῦν ἀλώσει καὶ φθορᾷ τῆς πόλεως ἐπειπεῖν τὸ ἀνδραγάθημα τοῦτο καὶ τὴν ἀριστείαν. ὁ δὲ καὶ κρατηθέντας αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων φησὶν εἰς τὰς ναῦς καταδιωχθῆναι, μηδὲν τοιοῦτο τοῦ Λαμψακηνοῦ Χάρωνος ἱστοροῦντος, ἀλλὰ ταυτὶ γράφοντος κατὰ λέξιν· " Ἀθηναῖοι δ' εἴκοσι τριήD ρεσιν ἔπλευσαν ἐπικουρήσοντες τοῖς Ἴωσι, καὶ εἰς Σάρδεις ἐστρατεύσαντο καὶ εἷλον τὰ περὶ Σάρδεις ἅπαντα χωρὶς τοῦ τείχους τοῦ βασιληίου· ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἐπαναχωροῦσιν εἰς Μίλητον."

25. Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἕκτῃ διηγησάμενος περὶ Πλαταιέων, ὡς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐδίδοσαν Σπαρτιάταις, οἱ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐκέλευσαν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους τρέπεσθαι " πλησιοχώρους ἐόντας αὐτοῖς[2] καὶ τιμωρέειν οὐ κακούς," προστίθησιν οὐ καθ' ὑπόνοιαν οὐδὲ δόξαν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀκριβῶς ἐπιστάμενος, ὅτι " ταῦτα συνεβούλευον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐ κατ' εὔνοιαν οὕτω[3] τῶν Πλαταιέων, ὡς βουλόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους E ἔχειν πόνους[4] συνεστεῶτας Βοιωτοῖς." οὐκοῦν εἰ μὴ κακοήθης Ἡρόδοτος, ἐπίβουλοι μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ κακοήθεις,[5] ἀναίσθητοι δ' Ἀθηναῖοι παρακρουσθέντες, Πλαταιεῖς δ' οὐ κατ' εὔνοιαν οὐδὲ τιμὴν ἀλλὰ πολέμου πρόφασις εἰς μέσον ἐρρίφησαν.

[1] εἶχεν εἰ καὶ E : εἶχε καὶ B.
[2] ἐόντας αὐτοῖς E : ὄντας ἑαυτοῖς B.
[3] οὕτω (as in Herodotus) added by Xylander : omitted in MSS.
[4] πόνους (as in Herodotus) Bernardakis : πόνον.

a remarkable state of alarm ; then, when attacked by superior numbers, they retreated. Various writers have described these events, including Lysanias of Mallus in his *History of Eretria*.[a] And, even if for no other reason, it would have been a fine epitaph on Miletus, after its capture and destruction, to describe this magnificent exploit. But he says that they were actually defeated by the barbarians and driven back to their ships.[b] Nothing of this sort is to be found in Charon of Lampsacus. His actual words are : " The Athenians with twenty triremes sailed to help the Ionians, advanced to Sardis, and occupied the whole of Sardis except the royal fortress ; and after this they withdrew to Miletus." [c]

25. In Book VI he describes how the Plataeans offered themselves to the Spartans, who urged them rather to turn to the Athenians, as " near neighbours of theirs who were no mean helpers " ; and he adds —not as a suspicion of his own or a mere opinion, but as though he were sure of the facts—that " the Spartans gave this advice not so much out of goodwill towards the Plataeans as because they wanted to make trouble for the Athenians by involving them with the Boeotians." [d] Thus, unless Herodotus is a malicious liar, the Spartans were malicious plotters, the Athenians were tricked like simpletons, and the Plataeans, far from being treated with goodwill and respect, were thrown down between the two parties as a possible pretext for war.

[a] *Frag. Gr. Hist.* iii B, no. 426.
[b] v. 102. 2.
[c] *Frag. Gr. Hist.* iii A, no. 262, F. 10.
[d] vi. 108. 1-3.

[5] Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ κακοήθεις E : καὶ κακοήθεις Λακ. B.

(861) 26. Καὶ μὴν τὴν πανσέληνον ἤδη σαφῶς ἐξελήλεγκται[1] Λακεδαιμονίων καταψευδόμενος, ἣν φησι περιμένοντας αὐτοὺς εἰς Μαραθῶνα μὴ βοηθῆσαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἄλλας μυρίας ἐξόδους καὶ μάχας πεποίηνται μηνὸς ἱσταμένου, μὴ περι-
F μείναντες τὴν πανσέληνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτης τῆς μάχης, ἕκτῃ[2] Βοηδρομιῶνος ἱσταμένου γενομένης, ὀλίγον ἀπελείφθησαν, ὥστε καὶ θεάσασθαι τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐπελθόντες[3] ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον. ἀλλ' ὅμως ταῦτα περὶ τῆς πανσελήνου γέγραφεν, " ἀδύνατα δέ σφι τὸ παραυτίκα[4] ποιέειν ταῦτα, οὐ βουλομένοισι λύειν τὸν νόμον· ἦν γὰρ ἱσταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς ἐνάτη[5]· ἐνάτῃ δὲ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεσθαι ἔφασαν, οὐ[6] πλήρεος ἐόντος τοῦ κύκλου. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν τὴν πανσέληνον ἔμενον."

Σὺ δὲ[7] μεταφέρεις τὴν πανσέληνον εἰς ἀρχὴν μηνὸς ἐκ διχομηνίας,[8] καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας καὶ πάντα πράγματα συνταράσσεις. καὶ
862 τὰ[9] τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπαγγελλόμενος γράφειν ὡς μὴ

[1] ἐξελήλεγκται E : ἐξελήλεκται B.
[2] ἕκτῃ Reiske : ἕκτης.
[3] ἐπελθόντες Abresch : ἐπελθόντας (letter blotted in E).
[4] σφι τὸ παραυτίκα E : σφιν τοπαραυτίκα B.
[5] ἐνάτη added by Xylander (*cf.* Herodotus, vi. 106) : omitted in MSS.
[6] οὐ] μὴ οὐ Herodotus.
[7] δὲ B : lacuna of 4 letters in E.
[8] ἐκ διχομηνίας Wyttenbach : διχομηνίας (but E may have short lacuna before δ.) : διχομηνίας οὔσης Leonicus : διχομηνίας οὖσαν Reiske : οὖσαν διχομηνίας Bernardakis.
[9] τὰ] ταῦτα τὰ Wyttenbach.

[a] vi. 106. 3.
[b] The ban on leaving before the full moon perhaps applied only in this particular month, the Spartan month Carneius

26. Again, it has been shown clearly that he is maligning the Spartans when he says that they were waiting for the full moon and that this was why they did not go to the help of the Athenians at Marathon.[a] Not only have the Spartans gone out and fought battles in the first part of the month on countless other occasions without waiting for the full moon,[b] but they narrowly escaped being in time for this battle, which took place on the sixth day of the month Boëdromion, so narrowly in fact that they saw the dead unburied when they reached the battlefield. Even so, this is what he has written about the full moon : " It was impossible for them to do so immediately, as they did not want to violate the law ; it was early in the month, the ninth day,[c] and they said they would not go out on the ninth day, the moon not being full. The Spartans, therefore, were waiting for the full moon." [d]

But what are *you* doing ? You shift the full moon from the middle of the month to the beginning, turning the heavens and the calendar and everything else upside down ; and this when you claim to be writing the history of Greece so that it shall not lack fame !

(*cf.* the notes of Legrand and of How and Wells on Herodotus).

[c] Plutarch appears to believe that the Spartans are talking in terms of the Athenian month Boëdromion instead of their month Carneius. Since each state adjusted the errors of its calendar independently, it does not follow that the two months corresponded and we can never be sure of the precise relation between the day of the month and the state of the moon.

[d] vi. 106. 3. Plutarch would prefer the more edifying account of Marathon given by Isocrates, *Panegyric*, 86-87, according to which the Spartans set out in haste but were still not in time for the battle.

(862) ἀκλεᾶ γένηται,[1] ἐσπουδακὼς δὲ περὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας διαφερόντως, οὐδὲ τὴν πρὸς Ἄγρας πομπὴν ἱστόρηκας, ἣν πέμπουσιν ἔτι νῦν τῇ ἕκτῃ[2] χαριστήρια τῆς νίκης ἑορτάζοντες.

Ἀλλὰ τοῦτό γε βοηθεῖ τῷ Ἡροδότῳ πρὸς ἐκείνην τὴν διαβολὴν ἣν ἔχει, κολακεύσας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀργύριον πολὺ λαβεῖν παρ' αὐτῶν. εἰ γὰρ ἀνέγνω ταῦτ' Ἀθηναίοις, οὐκ ἂν εἴασαν οὐδὲ περιεῖδον ἐνάτῃ[3] τὸν Φιλιππίδην παρακαλοῦντα Λακεδαι-
B μονίους ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ἐκ τῆς μάχης γεγενημένον, καὶ ταῦτα δευτεραῖον εἰς Σπάρτην ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, ὡς αὐτός φησιν, ἀφιγμένον· εἰ μὴ μετὰ τὸ νικῆσαι τοὺς πολεμίους Ἀθηναῖοι μετεπέμποντο τοὺς συμμάχους. ὅτι μέντοι δέκα τάλαντα δωρεὰν ἔλαβεν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν Ἀνύτου[4] τὸ ψήφισμα γράψαντος, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, οὐ τῶν παρημελημένων ἐν ἱστορίᾳ, Δίυλλος εἴρηκεν.

Ἀπαγγείλας δὲ τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχην ὁ Ἡρόδοτος ***[5] ὡς μὲν οἱ πλεῖστοι λέγουσι, καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν τῷ ἀριθμῷ καθεῖλε τοὔργον. εὐξαμένους

[1] ὡς μὴ ἀκλεᾶ γένηται L. P. (from Herodotus, proem): lacuna of 18-22 letters in MSS.: τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπαίρεις τῷ λόγῳ Turnebus.

[2] ἕκτῃ Valckenaer: Ἑκάτῃ.

[3] ἐνάτῃ Wyttenbach: ἐναγῆ.

[4] Ἀνύτου Basel edition, Turnebus: ἀντὶ τοῦ.

[5] No lacuna is marked in MSS. but something is evidently missing, *e.g.* ἀναριθμήτων βαρβάρων φονευθέντων.

[a] The MSS. read " to Hecatê " but the change is easy (see critical note). The annual sacrifice in thanksgiving for Marathon was made to Artemis Agrotera on the 6th of Boëdromion (*cf. Mor.* 349 E and Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 58. 1). Plutarch takes this to be the actual date of the battle; but the date is not reconcilable with the story as

And despite your special concern for Athens you have not even mentioned the procession to Agrae, which they still celebrate on the sixth [a] as a festival of thanksgiving for their victory.

Here, at least, is a point which supports Herodotus against the charge that he received a large sum of money from the Athenians in return for his flattery of them. If he had read this account to the Athenians, they would not have let it pass and would not have tolerated his story of Philippides summoning the Spartans to battle on the ninth (when the battle was over), especially since, as he says himself, Philippides reached Sparta the day after he had left Athens [b]—unless indeed the Athenians waited until the victory was won before they sent for their allies. And yet the story that he received a gift of ten talents from Athens, on the proposal of Anytus, comes from an Athenian, Diyllus, who is quite a well-known historian.[c]

At the end of his account of the battle of Marathon Herodotus further detracts from the victory when he gives the numbers of the dead. According to the usual version the barbarians killed were beyond

told by Herodotus, unless the calendar is so badly out of order that the calendar month bears no relation to the lunar month. *Cf.* W. P. Wallace, *J.H.S.* lxxiv (1954), p. 35. The usual solution is to suppose that this day was made the conventional day of commemoration because the sixth day of each month was sacred to Artemis, and that the battle took place in the middle of the preceding month or even earlier. The matter has been much discussed. See, *e.g.*, Hauvette, *Hérodote*, pp. 104-105, 269-270; Jacoby, *J.H.S.* lxiv (1944), p. 62.

[b] vi. 105-106. Philippides, as given in the MSS., not Pheidippides, is almost certainly the correct form of the name.

[c] *Frag. Gr. Hist.* ii A, no. 73, F. 3.

(862) γάρ φασι[1] τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τῇ Ἀγροτέρᾳ θύσειν χιμάρους ὅσους ἂν τῶν βαρβάρων καταβάλωσιν, C εἶτα μετὰ τὴν μάχην, ἀναρίθμου πλήθους τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναφανέντος, παραιτεῖσθαι ψηφίσματι τὴν θεόν, ὅπως καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἀποθύωσι πεντακοσίας τῶν χιμάρων.

27. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῦτ' ἐάσαντες ἴδωμεν τὰ[2] μετὰ τὴν μάχην· "τῇσι δὲ λοιπῇσι," φησίν,[3] "οἱ βάρβαροι ἐξανακρουσάμενοι, καὶ ἀναλαβόντες ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἐν τῇ[4] ἔλιπον τὰ ἐξ Ἐρετρίης ἀνδράποδα, περιέπλεον Σούνιον, βουλόμενοι φθῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀφικόμενοι[5] εἰς τὸ ἄστυ· αἰτίη δὲ ἔσχεν[6] Ἀθηναίοισι ἐξ Ἀλκμεωνιδέων μηχανῆς αὐτοὺς ταῦτα ἐπινοηθῆναι· τούτους γὰρ συνθεμένους τοῖσι Πέρσῃσιν ἀναδεῖξαι ἀσπίδα ἐοῦσιν ἤδη ἐν τῇσι νησί[7]· οὗτοι μὲν δὴ περιέπλεον Σούνιον." ἐνταῦθα D τὸ μὲν τοὺς Ἐρετριέας ἀνδράποδα προσειπεῖν, οὔτε τόλμαν Ἑλλήνων οὐδενὸς οὔτε φιλοτιμίαν ἐνδεεστέραν παρασχομένους καὶ παθόντας ἀνάξια τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἀφείσθω· διαβεβλημένων δὲ τῶν Ἀλκμεωνιδῶν,[8] ἐν οἷς οἱ μέγιστοί τε τῶν οἴκων καὶ δοκιμώ-

[1] *φασι* Meziriacus : *φησι*.
[2] *τὰ* added by Turnebus, not in MSS.
[3] *λοιπῇσι, φησίν* Bernardakis : *λοιπῆσιν*.
[4] *τῇ* Turnebus : *αὐτῇ*.
[5] *ἀφικόμενοι* Reiske : *ἀφικομενο*. (without accent) E : *ἀφικομένους* B.
[6] *αἰτίη δὲ ἔσχεν* Turnebus (MSS. of Herodotus vary between *αἰτίη δὲ ἔσχε(ν)* and *αἰτίην δὲ ἔσχεν ἐν*) : *αἰτίην δὲ ἔσχον*.
[7] *ἐοῦσιν . . . νησί* B : *ἐοῦσι . . . ναυσίν* E.
[8] *Ἀλκμεωνιδῶν* E : *Ἀλκμαιωνιδῶν* B.

[a] This translation assumes that something is lost from the text (see critical note). The reading of the MSS. would have

counting[a]; and they say that the Athenians promised Artemis Agrotera that they would sacrifice a goat to her for every barbarian killed; and then, after the battle, when the immense number of the dead became apparent, they passed a resolution asking the goddess to release them from their vow on condition that they sacrificed five hundred goats every year.[b]

27. However, suppose we let this pass and see what comes after the battle: "With their remaining ships," he says, "the barbarians put to sea, and taking on board the slaves from Eretria from the island where they had left them they sailed round Sunium with the intention of reaching the city before the Athenians. And the accusation was current in Athens that this move was planned as the result of an intrigue with the Alcmaeonids. They are supposed to have reached an understanding with the Persians and to have flashed a shield signal to them after they had boarded their ships. And so the Persians sailed round Sunium."[c] Now I will let it pass that he calls the Eretrians slaves, though they had shown as much bravery and patriotism as any of the Greeks and had suffered a fate worse than their courage deserved; and his slander of the Alcmaeonids, whose number included the greatest families and the most distinguished

to mean "as most people agree, Herodotus has spoiled the story by what he says," which implies that there was an extensive critical literature on Herodotus; and this can hardly be right. Herodotus says that 6400 barbarians were killed (vi. 117). This is apparently not enough to satisfy Plutarch; later authors gave much higher figures—200,000 according to Justin (ii. 9. 20).

[b] This story appears, with slight variations, in Xenophon, *Anabasis*, iii. 2. 12, Scholiast to Aristophanes, *Knights*, 660, and Aelian, *Varia Hist.* ii. 25.

[c] vi. 115.

(862) τατοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἦσαν, ἐλάττων λόγος· ἀνατέτραπται δὲ τῆς νίκης τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ τέλος εἰς οὐδὲν ἥκει τοῦ περιβοήτου κατορθώματος, οὐδ' ἀγών τις ἔοικεν οὐδ' ἔργον γεγονέναι τοσοῦτον, ἀλλὰ πρόσκρουσμα[1] βραχὺ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀποβᾶσιν (ὥσπερ οἱ διασύροντες καὶ βασκαίνοντες λέγουσιν), εἰ μετὰ τὴν μάχην οὐ φεύγουσι κόψαντες
E τὰ πείσματα τῶν νεῶν, τῷ φέροντι προσωτάτω τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀνέμῳ παραδόντες αὑτούς, ἀλλ' αἴρεται μὲν ἀσπὶς αὐτοῖς προδοσίας σημεῖον, ἐπιπλέουσι δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἐλπίζοντες αἱρήσειν, καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν Σούνιον κάμψαντες ὑπεραιωροῦνται Φαλήρων[2] οἱ δὲ πρῶτοι καὶ δοκιμώτατοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν προδιδόασιν[3] ἀπεγνωκότες τὴν πόλιν. καὶ γὰρ ἀπολύων ὕστερον Ἀλκμεωνίδας[4] ἑτέροις τὴν προδοσίαν ἀνατίθησιν· " ἀνεδείχθη μὲν γὰρ ἀσπίς, καὶ τοῦτο
F οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλως[5] εἰπεῖν," φησὶν αὐτὸς[6] ἰδών. τοῦτο δ' ἀμήχανον μὲν ἦν γενέσθαι, νενικηκότων κατὰ κράτος[7] τῶν Ἀθηναίων· γενόμενον δ' οὐκ ἂν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων συνώφθη, φυγῇ καὶ πόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ τραύμασι καὶ βέλεσιν εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἐλαυνομένων καὶ ἀπολιπόντων τὸ χωρίον, ὡς ἕκαστος τάχους εἶχεν. ἀλλ' ὅταν γε πάλιν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀλκμεωνιδῶν ἀπο-

[1] *πρόσκρουσμα*] *πρόσκρουμα* Bernardakis.
[2] *Φαλήρων*] *Φαλήρου* in Herodotus.
[3] *προδιδόασιν* Amyot, Reiske: lacuna of about 10 letters in MSS.
[4] Ἀλκμε- E: Ἀλκμαι- B. This is the usual variation; subsequent examples will not be noted.
[5] *ἄλλως* Stephanus: ἀλλ' ὡς.
[6] *αὐτὸς*] *ὡς αὐτὸς* suggested by Wyttenbach.
[7] *κατὰ κράτος* Aldine edition: *κατακράτος*.

men, is a minor matter; but the great edifice of victory collapses and the point of the famous exploit comes to nothing, indeed it seems not to be a battle at all or an action of any great importance, but a brief clash with the barbarians as they landed—just as the carping critics, who belittle the action, say [a]—when he denies that they take flight after the battle, cutting their ships' cables and entrusting themselves to the wind which will carry them as far as possible from Attica, when he says that a shield is raised as a traitor's signal to them and they set course for Athens expecting to capture it,[b] and that after rounding Sunium at their ease they lie in wait off Phalerum while the most distinguished leaders in Athens are prepared to betray the city in despair. Even later on, when he is acquitting the Alcmaeonids of treason, he charges others with it; because " a shield signal was given," he says, " and there is no way of denying it " [c] (no doubt he saw it himself!). Yet it is impossible that such a thing could have happened, if the Athenians had won a decisive victory; and if the signal had been given, it would not have been seen by the barbarians as they were driven in flight to the ships in great distress under a rain of blows and missiles, each man doing his best to get away as fast as he could. Elsewhere, however, he makes a pretence of defending the Alcmaeonids, dropping these

[a] Perhaps the most famous of these was Theopompus, who complained that Athenian propaganda had exaggerated the achievement of Marathon (*Frag. Gr. Hist.* ii B, no. 115, F. 153).
[b] Plutarch maintained that the Persian ships were forced in the direction of Athens by the wind (*Life of Aristeides*, chap. v).
[c] vi. 124. 2.

(862) λογεῖσθαι προσποιῆται, μεθεὶς[1] ἃ πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων ἐπενήνοχεν ἐγκλήματα, καὶ εἴπῃ[2] " θῶμα δέ μοι[3] καὶ οὐκ ἐνδέχομαι τὸν λόγον, Ἀλκμεωνίδας ἄν ποτε ἀναδεῖξαι Πέρσῃσιν ἐκ συνθήματος ἀσπίδα, βουλομένους ὑπο βαρβάροισί τε εἶναι Ἀθηναίους καὶ[4] ὑπὸ Ἱππίῃ," κόμματός τινος ἀναμιμνήσκομαι παροιμιακοῦ·

μένε, καρκίνε, καί σε μεθήσω.

τί γὰρ ἐσπούδακας καταλαβεῖν, εἰ καταλαβὼν μεθ-
863 ιέναι μέλλεις; καὶ σὺ κατηγορεῖς, εἶτ' ἀπολογῇ· καὶ γράφεις κατ' ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν διαβολάς, ἃς πάλιν ἀναιρεῖς, ἀπιστῶν δὲ[5] σεαυτῷ δηλονότι· σεαυτοῦ γὰρ ἀκήκοας λέγοντος Ἀλκμεωνίδας ἀνασχεῖν ἀσπίδα νενικημένοις καὶ φεύγουσι τοῖς βαρβάροις. καὶ μὴν ἐν οἷς περὶ Ἀλκμεωνιδῶν ἀπολογῇ σεαυτὸν ἀποφαίνεις συκοφάντην· εἰ γὰρ " μᾶλλον ἢ ὁμοίως Καλλίῃ τῷ Φαινίππου, Ἱππονίκου δὲ πατρί φαίνονται μισοτύραννοι ἐόντες," ὡς ἐνταῦθα γράφεις, Ἀλκμεωνίδαι, ποῦ θήσεις αὐτῶν ἐκείνην τὴν συνωμοσίαν ἣν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις γέγραφας; ὡς ἐπι-
B γαμίαν ποιησόμενοι Πεισιστράτῳ κατήγαγον αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς ἐπὶ τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ οὐκ ἂν[6] ἐξήλα-

[1] προσποιῆται, μεθεὶς L. P.: προσποιῆται Turnebus: προσποιούμενος Stephanus: προσποιώμεθα.
[2] καὶ εἴπῃ (or εἴπῃ δὲ) L. P.: εἴπῃ Wyttenbach: εἴη.
[3] θῶμα (or θώυμα) δέ μοι Turnebus (as in Herodotus): acuna of 10 letters in MSS.
[4] βουλομένους ὑπὸ βαρβάροισί τε εἶναι Ἀθ. καὶ Turnebus (as in Herodotus): βουλομένους γε εἶναι Ἀθ.
[5] δὲ] γε Wyttenbach: δὴ suggested by Bernardakis: τίνι δέ; Reiske.

charges—which he was the very first man to bring against them—and he says: " It is amazing to me, and I cannot accept the story, that the Alcmaeonids would ever have made a pre-arranged shield signal to the Persians, with the intention that the Athenians should be made subject to the barbarians and to Hippias." [a] Here I am reminded of a paroemiac verse:

Just wait, crab, and I'll let you go free.[b]

Why are you so anxious to make a catch, if you intend to let go once you have caught hold? This is what you are doing: you make a charge, and then you speak in their defence; you spread slanders against distinguished men which you subsequently withdraw. It must be because you don't trust yourself—because it is your own voice that you have heard saying that the Alcmaeonids raised a signal to the defeated and fleeing barbarians. Yes, when you defend the Alcmaeonids you reveal yourself as a malicious accuser; because, if they are " clearly enemies of tyranny, just as much as (or more than) Callias, the son of Phaenippus and father of Hipponicus," as you write in this passage, how will you interpret that conspiracy of theirs which you described the first time you mentioned them? You said that they reinstated Peisistratus in his tyranny after his exile, so as to establish a marriage connection with him, and would not have

[a] vi. 121. 1.
[b] " Paroemiac " may refer to the metre (the tag end of a hexameter) or it may mean " proverbial," *i.e.* the verse may be a traditional saying attributed to some animal—possibly " what the snake said to the crab." For scraps of verse relating to the fable of the crab and the snake see Diehl, *Anth. Lyrica Graeca*, ii, p. 184.

[6] ἂν] Reiske would delete or else change ἕως to εἰ μή.

(863) σαν αὖθις, ἕως διεβλήθη παρανόμως τῇ γυναικὶ μιγνύμενος.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τοιαύτας ἔχει ταραχάς· ἐν μέσῳ γὰρ[1] τῆς Ἀλκμεωνιδῶν διαβολῆς καὶ ὑπονοίας τοῖς Καλλίου τοῦ Φαινίππου χρησάμενος ἐπαίνοις καὶ προσάψας αὐτῷ τὸν υἱὸν Ἱππόνικον, ὃς ἦν καθ' Ἡρόδοτον ἐν τοῖς πλουσιωτάτοις Ἀθηναίων, ὡμολόγησεν ὅτι μηδὲν τῶν πραγμάτων δεομένων, ἀλλὰ θεραπείᾳ καὶ χάριτι τοῦ Ἱππονίκου τὸν Καλλίαν παρενέβαλεν.[2]

28. Ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀργείους ἅπαντες ἴσασιν οὐκ ἀπειπαμένους τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἡγεῖσθαι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ πάσης τῆς συμμαχίας[3] ἀξιώσαντας,
C ὡς ἂν μὴ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐχθίστοις καὶ πολεμιωτάτοις οὖσι ποιοῦντες ἀεὶ τὸ προστασσόμενον ἕπωνται, καὶ τοῦτ' ἄλλως οὐκ ἦν, αἰτίαν κακοηθεστάτην ὑποβάλλεται, γράφων, "ἐπεὶ δέ σφεας παραλαμβάνειν[4] τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οὕτω[5] δὴ ἐπισταμένους, ὅτι οὐ μεταδώσουσι τῆς ἀρχῆς Λακεδαιμόνιοι, μεταιτέειν, ἵνα ἐπὶ προφάσεως ἡσυχίαν ἄγωσι." τούτων δ' ὕστερον ἀναμνῆσαί φησιν Ἀρταξέρξην[6] ἀναβάντας εἰς Σοῦσα πρέσβεις Ἀργείων, κἀκεῖνον εἰπεῖν ὡς "οὐδεμίαν νομίζοι πόλιν Ἄργεος φιλιωτέρην"· εἶθ' ὑπειπών, ὥσπερ εἴωθε, καὶ ἀναδυόμενος οὐκ εἰδέναι φησὶ περὶ τούτων

[1] ἐν μέσῳ γὰρ L. P.: μεταξὺ δὲ Bernardakis: lacuna of about 12 letters in E: lacuna of 8 letters after Ἀλκμεωνιδῶν in B.

[2] παρενέβαλεν Reiske: παρέβαλεν.

[3] ἡγεῖσθαι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ πάσης τῆς συμμαχίας (or: Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ τριακοντοῦτιν εἰρήνην σπεισαμένους ἡγεῖσθαι κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ πάσης τῆς συμμαχίας) added by Bernardakis, following Reiske: no lacuna marked in MSS.

[4] παραλαμβάνειν Reiske (as in Herodotus): καταλαμβάνει.

driven him out again, until the charge came up that he was having abnormal sexual relations with his wife.[a]

Thus we see how his story is full of inconsistencies; he suspects and slanders the Alcmaeonids, and follows this with praise of Callias, the son of Phaenippus; and he adds the name of Callias' son Hipponicus, who was one of the wealthiest men in Athens in the time of Herodotus [b]—a clear admission that he introduced Callias not because he had any place in the story, but simply to please and flatter Hipponicus.

28. Again, everyone knows that the Argives did not refuse to fight on the Greek side, but were prepared to do so if the Spartans would grant them a half-share in the command [c]; they did not want to be subordinate to the Spartans, their bitterest enemies, and continually subject to their orders. There was no way of denying this, but he trumps up a thoroughly malicious explanation of their conduct. He writes: "When the Greeks asked their help, they made this request for a share in the command knowing perfectly well that the Spartans would not grant it, so as to have a pretext for remaining aloof." [d] And he says that in later years some Argive emissaries to Susa reminded Artaxerxes of their behaviour and he told them "he regarded no city as a firmer friend than Argos." [e] Then he adds—withdrawing in his usual fashion—that he has no certain knowledge in these

[a] i. 60-61 (*cf.* 858 c above).

[b] One of the generals in 427–426 B.C. (Thuc. iii. 91. 4). See also Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, 7658.

[c] The text here has been reconstructed on the basis of Herodotus, vii. 148. 4. [d] vii. 150. 3. [e] vii. 151.

[5] οὕτω Turnebus: αὐτῷ.

[6] Ἀρταξέρξην] Ἀρτοξέρξην Herodotus MSS.

(863) ἀτρεκέως, εἰδέναι δ' ὅτι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶν
D ἐγκλήματα, " καὶ οὐκ Ἀργείοισιν αἴσχιστα πεποίηται.[1] ἐγὼ δὲ λέγειν ὀφείλω[2] τὰ λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαί γε μὴν οὐ παντάπασι ὀφείλω,[3] καί μοι τὸ ἔπος τοῦτο ἐχέτω ἐς πάντα τὸν λόγον. ἐπεὶ καὶ ταῦτα λέγεται, ὡς ἄρα Ἀργεῖοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐπικαλεσάμενοι τὸν Πέρσην ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐπειδή σφιν πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους κακῶς ἡ αἰχμὴ ἑστήκεε, πᾶν[4] δὴ βουλόμενοι σφίσι εἶναι πρὸ[5] τῆς παρούσης λύπης."

Ἆρ' οὖν οὐχ, ὅπερ αὐτὸς τὸν Αἰθίοπά φησι πρὸς
E τὰ μύρα[6] καὶ τὴν πορφύραν εἰπεῖν, ὡς δολερὰ μὲν τὰ χρίματα[7] δολερὰ δὲ τὰ εἵματα τῶν Περσέων ἐστί, τοῦτ' ἄν τις εἴποι πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς δολερὰ μὲν τὰ ῥήματα δολερὰ δὲ τὰ σχήματα τῶν Ἡροδότου λόγων,

ἑλικτὰ κοὐδὲν ὑγιὲς ἀλλὰ πᾶν πέριξ,

ὥσπερ οἱ ζωγράφοι τὰ λαμπρὰ τῇ σκιᾷ τρανότερα ποιοῦσιν, οὕτω ταῖς ἀρνήσεσι τὰς διαβολὰς ἐπιτείνοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς ὑπονοίας ταῖς ἀμφιβολίαις βαθυτέρας ποιοῦντος; Ἀργεῖοι δ' ὅτι μὲν οὐ συναράμενοι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν
F καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς Λακεδαιμονίοις[8] ἐκστάντες, κατή-

[1] πεποίηται Stephanus (as in Herodotus) : πεποίηνται.
[2] λέγειν ὀφείλω] ὀφείλω λέγειν Herodotus.
[3] τὰ λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαί γε μὴν οὐ παντάπασι ὀφείλω, added by Stephanus (as in Herodotus) : no lacuna marked in MSS.
[4] ἑστήκεε, πᾶν Stephanus (as in Herodotus) : ἕστηκεν εἰ . . . (lacuna of 4 letters).
[5] σφίσι (or : σφι) εἶναι πρὸ Reiske (as in Herodotus) : σφι προεῖναι Wyttenbach : σφίσι προσεῖναι.
[6] μύρα B : μῦρα E.
[7] χρίματα Hadzidakis, Naber (*cf.* Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, p. 344) : χείματα (but in *Mor.* 270 E and 646 B MSS. have χρώματα) : ἀλείμματα Turnebus.
[8] Λακεδαιμονίοις E : Λακεδαιμόνιοι B.

matters, but he does know that complaints can be made against everyone and " the Argives are not the worst offenders ; and for my own part I am bound to report the current accounts, but not to believe in them absolutely ; and this statement of mine must be considered as applying to all my history. Indeed there is another version which represents the Argives as inviting the Persian king into Greece, because their man-power had been sorely depleted in war with the Spartans and they supposedly preferred any alternative to their present unhappy state." [a]

Might one not suitably apply to Herodotus himself the remark that he puts in the mouth of the Ethiopian ? In reply to the offerings of perfume and purple clothing Herodotus makes him say : " Full of guile are the unguents and full of guile are the Persian garments." [b] So one might say of him : " Full of guile are the statements and full of guile the whole treatment of history in Herodotus,

All twisted, no health anywhere, twining all about." [c]

Just as painters set off the highlights by contrast with shadow, so he intensifies the violence of his slanders by denials and, by casting doubt on them, he deepens the suspicions which he arouses. Now it is impossible to deny that the Argives brought shame on Heracles and their noble ancestry when they refused to co-

[a] vii. 152. 3.
[b] iii. 20-22. The retort is slightly elaborated by Plutarch, as on the other occasions when he quotes it (*Mor.* 270 E and 646 B).
[c] Euripides, *Andromachê*, 448.

(863) σχυναν[1] τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ τὴν εὐγένειαν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντειπεῖν.[2] ὑπὸ[3] Σιφνίοις γὰρ ἦν καὶ Κυθνίοις[4] ἄμεινον ἐλευθεροῦν τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἢ Σπαρτιάταις φιλονεικοῦντας ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τοσούτους καὶ τοιούτους ἀγῶνας. εἰ δ' αὐτοὶ ἦσαν οἱ ἐπικαλεσάμενοι τὸν Πέρσην ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διὰ τὴν κακῶς ἑστῶσαν αὐτοῖς αἰχμὴν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους, πῶς οὐκ ἐμήδιζον ἀναφανδὸν ἥκοντος οὐδ', εἰ μὴ συστρατεύειν ἐβούλοντο βασιλεῖ, τὴν γοῦν Λακωνικὴν ὑπολειπόμενοι κακῶς ἐποίουν, ἢ Θυρέας ἥπτοντο πάλιν ἢ τρόπον ἄλλον ἀντελαμβάνοντο καὶ
864 παρηνώχλουν Λακεδαιμονίοις, μέγα βλάψαι δυνάμενοι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, εἰ[5] μὴ παρῆκαν εἰς Πλαταιὰς ἐκείνους ἐκστρατεῦσαι τοσούτοις ὁπλίταις;

29. Ἀλλ' Ἀθηναίους γε μεγάλους ἐνταῦθα τῷ λόγῳ πεποίηκε καὶ σωτῆρας ἀνηγόρευκε τῆς Ἑλλάδος· ὀρθῶς γε ποιῶν καὶ δικαίως, εἰ μὴ πολλὰ καὶ βλάσφημα προσῆν τοῖς ἐπαίνοις. νῦν δὲ προδοθῆναι μὲν ἂν λέγων ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων Λακεδαιμονίους, " μονωθέντας δ' ἂν καὶ ἀποδεξαμένους[6] ἔργα μεγάλα ἀποθανεῖν γενναίως, ἢ πρὸ τούτου ὁρῶντας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους[7] Ἕλληνας μηδίζοντας ὁμολογίῃ[8] ἂν χρήσασθαι πρὸς Ξέρξεα," δῆλός ἐστιν οὐ τοῦτο[9] λέγων εἰς τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἔπαινον, ἀλλ'

[1] κατήσχυναν Reiske : κατήσχυναν ἄν.
[2] οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντειπεῖν E : οὐδ' ἔστιν ἀντειπεῖν (before κατήσχυναν) B.
[3] ὑπὸ added by Wyttenbach : σὺν Meziriacus.
[4] Κυθνίοις B : Κυνθίοις E.
[5] εἰ Bernardakis : ἢ.
[6] ἀποδεξαμένους Wesseling, following Reiske (as in Herodotus) : ὑποδεξαμένους.
[7] τοὺς ἄλλους Reiske (as in Herodotus) : τοὺς.
[8] ὁμολογίῃ B : ὁμολογοίη E.
[9] τοῦτο Turnebus : τούτους.

operate with the Greeks, letting the Spartans take from them their title to valour since they insisted on taking the lead. It would have been better to win Greek freedom following the lead of Siphnians and Cythnians,[a] than to default in such great struggles because of their quarrel with the Spartans over the command. But if it was they who actually invited the Persian invader into Greece because their army had been crippled in their war with the Spartans, why did they not medize openly when he came ? And, if they did not want to serve in the king's army, why did they not at least plunder Laconia when they stayed behind or seize Thyrea again [b] or do something else to harass the Spartans and impede their operations ? They could have done great damage to the Greek cause, if they had prevented the Spartans from marching out to Plataea with such a large number of hoplites.

29. But, it will be said, at least he has glorified the Athenians in his narrative at this point, and he calls them the saviours of Greece. Yes, he does, and rightly and properly so, except that he qualifies his expressions of praise with many slanderous statements. He says that, " as the situation was," the Spartans would have been betrayed by the rest of the Greeks and " left alone they would have performed great deeds of valour and died heroically, or else they would have come to terms with Xerxes before that, when they saw all the other Greeks medizing." [c] Now it is evident that he does not speak like this in order to praise the Athenians, but rather he praises

[a] Typically insignificant Greek cities (small island states in the Aegean).
[b] Border territory, constantly in dispute between the Argives and the Spartans.
[c] vii. 139.

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B Ἀθηναίους ἐπαινῶν ἵνα κακῶς εἴπῃ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας. τί γὰρ ἄν τις ἔτι δυσχεραίνοι,[1] Θηβαίους ἀεὶ καὶ Φωκέας πικρῶς αὐτοῦ καὶ κατακόρως ἐξονειδίζοντος, ὅπου καὶ τῶν προκινδυνευσάντων ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὴν γενομένην μὲν οὐ, γενομένην δ' ἄν,[2] ὡς αὐτὸς εἰκάζει,[3] καταψηφίζεται προδοσίαν; αὐτοὺς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐν ἀδήλῳ θέμενος, ἐπηπόρησεν εἴτ' ἔπεσον ἂν μαχόμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις εἴτε παρέδωκαν ἑαυτούς, μικροῖς γε νὴ Δία τεκμηρίοις αὐτῶν ἀπιστήσας[4] τοῖς περὶ Θερμοπύλας.

C 30. Διηγούμενος δὲ συμπεσοῦσαν ναυαγίαν ταῖς βασιλικαῖς ναυσὶ καὶ ὅτι "πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐκπεσόντων, Ἀμεινοκλῆς ὁ Κρητίνεω[5] Μάγνης ἀνὴρ ὠφελήθη μεγάλως, χρυσία ἄφατα καὶ χρήματα[6] περιβαλόμενος," οὐδὲ τοῦτον[7] ἄδηκτον παρῆκεν. "ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τἆλλα," φησίν, "οὐκ εὐτυχέων εὑρήμασι μέγα πλούσιος ἐγένετο· ἦν γάρ τις καὶ τοῦτον ἄχαρις συμφορὴ λυπεῦσα παιδοφόνος."[8] τοῦτο μὲν οὖν παντὶ[9] δῆλον, ὅτι τὰ χρυσᾶ χρήματα[10] καὶ τὰ εὑρήματα καὶ τὸν ἐκβρασσόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης πλοῦτον ἐπεισήγαγε τῇ ἱστορίᾳ χώραν καὶ τόπον ποιῶν, ἐν ᾧ θήσεται τὴν Ἀμεινοκλέους παιδοφονίαν.

[1] ἔτι δυσχεραίνοι Reiske : ἐπιδυσχεραίνῃ.
[2] γενομένην μὲν οὐ, γενομένην δ' ἄν L. P. : οὐ γεγενημένην μέν, γενομένην δ' ἄν Meziriacus : οὐ γενομένην δ' ἄν.
[3] εἰκάζει Reiske : εἰκάζοι.
[4] ἀπιστήσας E : ἀποστήσας B.
[5] Κρητίνεω Herodotus MSS. : Κρησίνεω.
[6] χρυσία ἄφατα καὶ χρήματα] Herodotus MSS. vary between χρύσεα χρήματα and χρύσεα ἄφατα χρήματα.

the Athenians in order to find fault with all the others. One can scarcely complain of his constant bitter and violent abuse of the Thebans and Phocians, when he attacks even those who stood in the forefront of battle for Greece, condemning them for an act of betrayal which they never perpetrated, but which he imagines they would have perpetrated. And he leaves it in doubt what the Spartans themselves would have done, wondering whether they would have fallen in battle with the enemy or given themselves up. Presumably he did not trust the indications of character which they gave at Thermopylae (were they so slight ?).

30. When he describes the shipwreck which the king's fleet suffered, he says that many objects were cast up on the shore and that Ameinocles, son of Cretines, a man from Magnesia, profited greatly by acquiring a great quantity of gold and other articles. Even this man he has not allowed to escape the sharp point of his pen. "His finds made him very rich," he says, "but in other respects he was an unfortunate man ; he was afflicted with the terrible calamity of killing his own child." [a] Anyone can see why Herodotus brought up these details—the objects of gold and their discovery and how these riches were cast up by the sea ; it was simply in order to make a suitable place in his narrative to point out that Ameinocles killed his own son.

[a] vii. 190.

[7] τοῦτον Meziriacus : τοῦτο.
[8] ἦν γάρ τις καὶ τοῦτον ἄχαρις συμφορὴ λυπεῦσα παιδοφόνος Stephanus (as in Herodotus) : τὴν γάρ τις καὶ τοῦτον ἄχαρις συμ. . . . (lacuna of 16 letters) E : τὴν γὰρ αἰτίαν καὶ τοῦτον ἄχαρις συμ . . . B.
[9] παντὶ Stephanus : πάντῃ.
[10] χρήματα Stephanus : ῥήματα.

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D 31. Ἀριστοφάνους δὲ τοῦ Βοιωτοῦ γράψαντος ὅτι χρήματα μὲν αἰτήσας οὐκ ἔλαβε παρὰ Θηβαίων,[1] ἐπιχειρῶν δὲ τοῖς νέοις διαλέγεσθαι καὶ συσχολάζειν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐκωλύθη δι' ἀγροικίαν αὐτῶν καὶ μισολογίαν, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν ἐστι τεκμήριον· ὁ δ' Ἡρόδοτος τῷ Ἀριστοφάνει μεμαρτύρηκε, δι' ὧν τὰ μὲν ψευδῶς, τὰ δὲ διὰ κολακείαν,[2] τὰ δὲ ὡς μισῶν καὶ διαφερόμενος τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἐγκέκληκε.

Θεσσαλοὺς μὲν γὰρ ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἀποφαίνεται
E μηδίσαι τὸ πρῶτον, ἀληθῆ λέγων· καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μαντευόμενος ὡς προδόντων ἂν Λακεδαιμονίους ὑπεῖπεν ὡς " οὐχ ἑκόντων ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἁλισκομένων κατὰ πόλεις." Θηβαίοις δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀνάγκης οὐ δίδωσι τὴν αὐτὴν συγγνώμην. καίτοι πεντακοσίους μὲν εἰς τὰ Τέμπη καὶ Μναμίαν στρατηγὸν ἔπεμψαν, εἰς δὲ Θερμοπύλας ὅσους ᾔτησε Λεωνίδας, οἳ καὶ μόνοι σὺν Θεσπιεῦσι παρέμειναν αὐτῷ, τῶν ἄλλων ἀπολιπόντων μετὰ τὴν κύκλωσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν παρόδων κρατήσας ὁ βάρ-
F βαρος ἐν τοῖς ὅροις ἦν καὶ Δημάρατος ὁ Σπαρτιάτης

[1] παρὰ Θηβαίων Pletho (in paraphrase), Meziriacus: παρ' Ἀθηναίων.

[2] διὰ κολακείαν Turnebus: δι' ἄγνοιαν Meziriacus: διαβόλως Cobet: διαβάλλων Bernardakis: διὰ . . . (lacuna of about 8 letters).

[a] *Frag. Gr. Hist.* iii B, no. 379, F. 5.

[b] Text defective at this point (see critical note).

[c] vii. 172. 1. [d] vii. 139. 3.

31. Aristophanes the Boeotian has written that Herodotus was unsuccessful in asking the Thebans for money and that, when he tried to have conversations and discussions with their young men, he was prevented by their magistrates, because of their boorishness and hatred of learning.[a] Now there is no other evidence to support this statement of Aristophanes, except for the corroboration that Herodotus himself gives by his charges against the Thebans, which are full of lies and partiality for others,[b] showing his hatred and bitterness towards the Thebans.

He maintains that the Thessalians, from the beginning, had no choice except to medize,[c] and here he is quite right; and when he surmises that all the other Greeks would have betrayed the Spartans, he adds: " not willingly, but inevitably, as one city after another fell victim." [d] The same inevitable necessity faced the Thebans, but he does not show them the same consideration. The fact is, however, that they sent five hundred men, with Mnamias in command, to Tempê [e] and all the men that Leonidas requested to Thermopylae [f]; and furthermore these were the only men, beside the Thespians, who stayed with Leonidas after the pass was turned, when all the others had left. When the Persians had gained control of the passes and were on their borders, and the Spartan Demaratus,[g] who was on terms of friendship

[e] No Theban contingent at Tempê is mentioned by Herodotus, but only Thessalian cavalry in addition to Spartan and Athenian hoplites (vii. 173. 2). *Cf.* Cloché, *Thèbes de Béotie*, p. 37.

[f] Four hundred, according to Herodotus (vii. 202; 205. 2).

[g] Exiled Spartan king, who accompanied Xerxes as counsellor.

(864) διὰ ξενίας εὔνους ὢν Ἀτταγίνῳ[1] τῷ προεστῶτι τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας διεπράξατο φίλον βασιλέως γενέσθαι καὶ ξένον, οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἦσαν, πεζῇ δ' οὐδεὶς προσήλαυνεν, οὕτω προσεδέξαντο τὰς διαλύσεις ὑπὸ τῆς μεγάλης ἀνάγκης ἐγκαταληφθέντες.[2] οὔτε γὰρ θάλασσα καὶ νῆες αὐτοῖς παρῆσαν ὡς Ἀθηναίοις, οὔτ' ἀπωτάτω κατῴκουν ὡς Σπαρτιᾶται τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐν μυχῷ, μιᾶς δ' ἡμέρας ὁδὸν[3] καὶ ἡμισείας ἀπέχοντι τῷ Μήδῳ συστάντες ἐπὶ τῶν στενῶν καὶ διαγωνισάμενοι μετὰ μόνων Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ Θεσπιέων ἠτύχησαν. ὁ δὲ συγγραφεὺς οὕτως ἐστὶ δίκαιος, ὥστε " Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν μονωθέντας καὶ γενομένους συμμάχων ἐρήμους τυχὸν ἄν," φησιν, " ὁμολογίῃ χρήσασθαι[4] πρὸς Ξέρξεα ". Θηβαίοις δὲ ταὐτὸ διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀνάγκην παθοῦσι λοιδορεῖται. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον καὶ κάλλιστον ἔργον ἀνελεῖν μὴ δυνηθεὶς ὡς οὐ πραχθὲν αὐτοῖς, αἰτίᾳ[5] φαύλῃ καὶ ὑπονοίᾳ διαλυμαινόμενος ταῦτ' ἔγραφεν· " οἱ μέν νυν ξύμμαχοι[6] ἀποπεμπόμενοι ᾤχοντό τε ἀπιόντες καὶ ἐπείθοντο Λεωνίδῃ· Θεσπιέες[7] δὲ καὶ Θηβαῖοι κατέμειναν μοῦνοι παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοισι.

B τούτων δὲ Θηβαῖοι μὲν ἀέκοντες ἔμενον καὶ οὐ βουλόμενοι· κατεῖχε γάρ σφεας Λεωνίδης ἐν ὁμήρων[8] λόγῳ ποιεύμενος· Θεσπιέες δὲ ἑκόντες μά-

[1] Ἀτταγίνῳ Pletho, Reiske (as in Herodotus) : Ἀπαγίνῳ.
[2] ἐγκαταληφθέντες Wyttenbach : ἐγκαταλειφθέντες.

with their oligarchic leader Attaginus [a] as a former guest, had arranged for him to become the king's friend and guest—when the Greeks were in their ships and no land force was on the way—only then, under the stress of dire necessity, did the Thebans accept the king's terms. They had no sea and no ships in which to take refuge, like the Athenians, nor did they live far away in a remote corner of Hellas like the Spartans ; the king was only one and a half days' journey away when they rallied at Thermopylae and fought and fell with only the Spartans and Thespians for companions. And yet, though our historian is fair enough to admit that if the Spartans had been left alone and deserted by their allies they might have come to terms with Xerxes, when the Thebans, equally inevitably, face the same fate, he insults them. He could not undo their great and glorious deed or pretend that it never happened, but by implying that their motive was discreditable he took all the good out of it. These are his words : " So the allies, who were dismissed, went their way in obedience to Leonidas. Only the Thespians and the Thebans remained with the Spartans ; and of these the Thebans remained reluctantly ; they did not want to stay, but were retained by Leonidas who regarded them as hostages ; the Thespians, on the other hand, were

[a] Herodotus describes how Attaginus entertained Mardonius and fifty prominent Persians to dinner with fifty Thebans in 479 B.C. (ix. 15. 4–16. 5).

[3] ὁδὸν E : ὁδῷ B.
[4] χρήσασθαι Cobet : χρῆσθαι.
[5] αἰτίᾳ Wyttenbach tentatively : αἰτίῃ.
[6] Reiske adds οἱ as in some MSS. of Herodotus.
[7] Θεσπιέες Basel edition : Θεσπιεῖς.
[8] ὁμήρων Stephanus : ὁμήρου.

(865) λιστα, οἳ οὐδαμᾶ[1] ἔφασαν ἀπολιπόντες Λεωνίδην[2] καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τούτου[3] ἀπαλλάξεσθαι.''[4]

Εἶτ' οὐ δῆλός ἐστιν ἰδίαν τινὰ πρὸς Θηβαίους ἔχων ὀργὴν καὶ δυσμένειαν, ὑφ' ἧς οὐ μόνον διέβαλε[5] ψευδῶς καὶ ἀδίκως τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῦ πιθανοῦ τῆς διαβολῆς ἐφρόντισεν, οὐδ' ὅπως αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ τἀναντία λέγων παρ' ὀλίγους ἀνθρώπους[6] οὐ φανεῖται συνειδώς; προειπὼν γὰρ ὡς '' ὁ Λεω-
C νίδης, ἐπεί τ' ᾔσθετο τοὺς συμμάχους ἐόντας ἀπροθύμους καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντας συγκινδυνεύειν,[7] κελεύσαι[8] σφέας ἀπαλλάττεσθαι,'' πάλιν μετ' ὀλίγον λέγει τοὺς Θηβαίους ἄκοντας αὐτὸν κατασχεῖν, οὓς εἰκὸς ἦν ἀπελάσαι[9] καὶ[10] βουλομένους παραμένειν, εἰ μηδίζειν αἰτίαν εἶχον. ὅπου γὰρ οὐκ ἐδεῖτο τῶν μὴ προθύμων, τί χρήσιμον ἦν ἀναμεμίχθαι μαχομένοις ἀνθρώπους ὑπόπτους; οὐ γὰρ δὴ φρένας εἶχε τοιαύτας ὁ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡγεμών, ὥστε '' κατέχειν ἐν ὁμήρων[11] λόγῳ '' τοῖς τριακοσίοις τοὺς τετρακοσίους ὅπλ' ἔχοντας καὶ προσκειμένων ἔμπροσθεν ἤδη καὶ ὄπισθεν ἅμα τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ γὰρ εἰ πρότερον ἐν
D ὁμήρων λόγῳ ποιούμενος ἦγεν αὐτούς, ἔν γε τοῖς ἐσχάτοις εἰκὸς ἦν καιροῖς ἐκείνους τε Λεωνίδα μη-

[1] οὐδαμᾶ] οὐ Herodotus MSS.
[2] Λεωνίδην Stephanus (as in Herodotus MSS.) : Λεωνίδη.
[3] μετὰ τούτου] μετ' αὐτοῦ Herodotus MSS.
[4] ἀπαλλάξεσθαι Stephanus : ἀπαλλάξασθαι.
[5] διέβαλε Stephanus : διέβλαψε.
[6] παρ' ὀλίγους ἀνθρώπους]. Perhaps παρ' ὀλίγοις ἀνθρώποις. Other emendations assume different syntax, *e.g.* παρ' ὀλίγους στίχους Amyot : πᾶσι παρ' ὀλίγους ἀνθρώποις Herwerden : παρὰ πᾶσιν ὀλίγου ἀνθρώποις Wyttenbach.
[7] συγκινδυνεύειν (as in Suda)] συνδιακινδυνεύειν or διακινδυνεύειν MSS. of Herodotus.

most willing to remain and said that they would never withdraw or desert Leonidas and his men." [a]

Now it is clear—isn't it?—that he has some personal grievance and spite against the Thebans. And, in consequence, not only has he made wicked false accusations against their city, but he has not even taken the trouble to make his charges convincing; nor has he realized that few men will fail to see how he is contradicting himself. He begins by saying that Leonidas, " when he recognized the lack of enthusiasm among the allies and their reluctance to share the danger with him,[b] ordered them to withdraw "; then a little later he says that Leonidas retained the Thebans against their will [c]—though it might be expected that he would drive them away, even though they wanted to remain, if they were suspected of medism. After all, when he needed only willing helpers, what was the use of having persons of doubtful loyalty mixed in with the fighters? The mentality of the Spartan king and commander-in-chief of the Greeks was not such that he would retain these four hundred armed men " as hostages " among the three hundred, when the enemy was already attacking them from in front and from behind at the same time. In fact, even if at an earlier stage he took them along with him " as hostages," in the final extremity it was likely that they would try to escape

[a] vii. 222 (*cf.* 205. 3, which Plutarch might well have quoted). [b] vii. 220. 2. [c] vii. 222.

[8] κελεύσαι Reiske : κελεύσας.
[9] ἀπελάσαι E : ἀπελᾶσαι B : ἀπελᾶσθαι Aldine edition (*cf.* 869 B).
[10] καὶ Basel edition : καὶ μὴ.
[11] ὁμήρων E : ὁμήρου B (so also below).

(865) δὲν φροντίσαντας ἀπαλλαγῆναι καὶ Λεωνίδαν δεῖσαι τὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν βαρβάρων κύκλωσιν. Ἄνευ δὲ τούτων, πῶς οὐ γελοῖος ὁ Λεωνίδας, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους Ἕλληνας ἀπιέναι[1] κελεύων ὡς αὐτίκα μάλα τεθνηξομένους,[2] Θηβαίους δὲ κωλύων ὡς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φυλάττοιντο τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀποθνήσκειν μέλλοντος; εἰ γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ, μᾶλλον δ' ἀνδραπόδων, περιῆγε τοὺς ἄνδρας, οὐ κατέχειν ὤφειλεν αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῶν ἀπολουμένων,[3] ἀλλὰ παραδοῦναι τοῖς ἀπιοῦσι τῶν Ἑλλή-
E νων. ὃ δὲ λοιπὸν ἦν τῶν αἰτίων εἰπεῖν, "ἴσως δὲ ἀπολουμένους[4] κατεῖχε," καὶ τοῦτ' ἀνῄρηκεν ὁ συγγραφεύς, οἷς περὶ τῆς φιλοτιμίας τοῦ Λεωνίδου κατὰ λέξιν εἴρηκε[5]· "ταῦτα δὲ[6] δὴ ἐπιλεγόμενον Λεωνίδεα[7] καὶ βουλόμενον καταθέσθαι κλέος μούνων[8] Σπαρτιητέων ἀποπέμψαι τοὺς συμμάχους μᾶλλον ἢ τῇσι γνώμῃσι[9] διενεχθέντας." ὑπερβολὴ γὰρ
F εὐηθείας ἦν, ἧς ἀπήλαυνε δόξης τοὺς συμμάχους κατέχειν μεθέξοντας τοὺς πολεμίους. ὅτι τοίνυν οὐ διεβέβλητο τοῖς Θηβαίοις ὁ Λεωνίδας, ἀλλὰ καὶ φίλους ἐνόμιζε βεβαίους, ἐκ τῶν πεπραγμένων δῆ-

[1] ἀπιέναι Reiske : ἀπεῖναι.
[2] τεθνηξομένους] τεθνηξόμενος Turnebus, Leonicus.
[3] ἀπολουμένων Reiske : ἀπολλυμένων.
[4] ἀπολουμένους Turnebus : ἀπολουμένων.
[5] εἴρηκε Xylander : lacuna of 6-8 letters in MSS.
[6] δὲ] τε Reiske (as in Herodotus).
[7] Λεωνίδεα] Λεωνίδην MSS. of Herodotus.
[8] μούνων] μοῦνον all MSS. of Herodotus except one.
[9] τῇσι γνώμῃσι] γνώμῃ MSS. of Herodotus.

[a] vii. 220. 4.
[b] Plutarch does not mention the possibility that the 400

without a thought for Leonidas and that Leonidas would be more frightened of being cut off by them than by the barbarians.

Apart from this, however, it is surely absurd to make Leonidas send the other Greeks away, because they will face certain death if they stay, but prevent the Thebans from leaving, so that he—who is going to be killed—can keep an eye on them for the Greeks. If he were really dragging these men round as hostages, or rather as slaves, he ought not to have retained them with the troops that faced certain death, but to have handed them over to the Greeks who left. The only other possible explanation—that he perhaps kept them so that they would be killed—has also been eliminated by the historian ; this is what he says of the patriotic ambition of Leonidas : " These were the ideas in the mind of Leonidas ; it was because he wanted the Spartans alone to have the glory that he sent the allies away, not because of any disagreement that they had with him." [a] Stupidity could go no farther than to keep his enemies to share in the glory which he was denying to his allies. No ; the facts make it clear that Leonidas was not at odds with the Thebans, but regarded them as firm friends.[b] Indeed,

Thebans were loyalist volunteers (Diodorus, xi. 4. 7, calls them " members of the opposing faction "), in which case they could not hope for any mercy at home if Thermopylae fell. Nor does he consider whether Thebes might be playing a double game, making a token contribution to the force of Leonidas in case the defence of Thermopylae might be, for a time at least, successful. But it is certainly true that bitter feelings at Athens in the early years of the Peloponnesian War have made Herodotus less than fair to the Thebans. The true story is by no means clear ; *cf.*, *e.g.*, the notes of Legrand and of How & Wells on vii. 222, and Cloché, *Thèbes de Béotie*, pp. 37-40.

(865) λόν ἐστι. καὶ γὰρ παρῆλθεν εἰς Θήβας ἄγων τὸ στράτευμα καὶ δεηθεὶς ἔτυχεν οὗ μηδὲ εἷς ἄλλος, ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ κατακοιμηθῆναι τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, καὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἣν εἶδεν ὄναρ[1] ἐξήγγειλε τοῖς Θηβαίοις· ἔδοξε γὰρ ἐν θαλάσσῃ πολὺν ἐχούσῃ καὶ τραχὺν κλύδωνα τὰς ἐπιφανεστάτας καὶ μεγίστας πόλεις τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνωμάλως διαφέρεσθαι καὶ σαλεύειν, τὴν δὲ Θηβαίων ὑπερέχειν τε πασῶν καὶ μετέωρον ἀρθῆναι πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶτ' ἐξαίφνης ἀφανῆ γενέσθαι· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἦν ὅμοια τοῖς ὕστερον χρόνῳ πολλῷ συμπεσοῦσι περὶ τὴν πόλιν.

866 32. Ὁ δ' Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ διηγήσει τῆς μάχης καὶ τοῦ Λεωνίδου τὴν μεγίστην ἠμαύρωκε πρᾶξιν, αὐτοῦ πεσεῖν πάντας εἰπὼν ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς περὶ τὸν Κολωνόν· ἐπράχθη δ' ἄλλως. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐπύθοντο νύκτωρ τὴν περίοδον τῶν πολεμίων, ἀναστάντες ἐβάδιζον ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ὀλίγου δεῖν[2] βασιλέως, ὡς ἐκεῖνον αὐτὸν ἀποκτενοῦντες καὶ περὶ ἐκείνῳ τεθνηξόμενοι· μέχρι μὲν οὖν τῆς σκηνῆς ἀεὶ τὸν ἐμποδὼν φονεύοντες, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους τρεπόμενοι προῆλθον· ἐπεὶ δ' οὐχ εὑρίσκετο Ξέρξης,

B ζητοῦντες ἐν μεγάλῳ καὶ ἀχανεῖ στρατεύματι καὶ πλανώμενοι μόλις ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων πανταχόθεν περιχυθέντων διεφθάρησαν. ὅσα δ' ἄλλα πρὸς τούτῳ τολμήματα καὶ ῥήματα τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν παραλέλοιπεν,[3] ἐν τῷ Λεωνίδου βίῳ γραφήσεται·

[1] ὄναρ] Ἦρα Aldine edition.
[2] ὀλίγου δεῖν] Reiske would omit.
[3] παραλέλοιπεν Wyttenbach : καταλέλοιπεν.

[a] The rise of Thebes under Epameinondas and its brief hegemony of Greece (371–362 B.C.) and its destruction by Alexander of Macedon in 335. The dream clearly belongs to a later tradition, presumably a Theban one.

he had entered Thebes at the head of his army and, at his request, received a privilege granted to no one else—permission to sleep in the temple of Heracles; and he told the Thebans of the vision which he saw in his sleep, in which the greatest and most notable cities of Greece appeared to be tossed and thrown in disorder on a rough and stormy sea, and the city of Thebes towered high above them all and was lifted right up to the sky and then suddenly disappeared. This vision was indeed very similar to the fate which befell the city long afterwards.[a]

32. In his description of the battle Herodotus has also dimmed the glory of Leonidas' most heroic deed. He says that all fell right in the narrows, by the Hill.[b] But this is not true, because when they heard in the night that the barbarians were coming round by the other pass, they pushed forward and reached the Persian camp, almost as far as the king's own tent, intending to kill him and give their lives in return for his; and they advanced right up to the tent, killing anyone who blocked their path and forcing everyone else to withdraw; then, when Xerxes was not to be found, they searched for him in that huge sprawling army and, losing their bearings, they were finally surrounded by the barbarians on every side and killed.[c] I shall describe in my *Life of Leonidas* all the other brave deeds and sayings of the Spartans that Herodotus has omitted[d]; but it will not be amiss to men-

[b] vii. 225. 2-3.
[c] This version, which appears in Diodorus, xi. 9. 4–10. 4, is presumably taken from Ephorus.
[d] *Cf.* the collection of Leonidas' sayings in *Mor.* 225 A-E. The *Life of Leonidas* has not survived, if indeed it was ever written.

(866) μικρὰ δ' οὐ χεῖρόν ἐστι καὶ νῦν διελθεῖν. ἀγῶνα μὲν γὰρ ἐπιτάφιον αὐτῶν[1] ἠγωνίσαντο πρὸ τῆς ἐξόδου καὶ τοῦτον ἐθεῶντο πατέρες αὐτῶν καὶ μητέρες· αὐτὸς δ' ὁ Λεωνίδας πρὸς μὲν τὸν εἰπόντα παντελῶς ὀλίγους ἐξάγειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην "πολλοὺς μέν,"[2] ἔφη, "τεθνηξομένους"· πρὸς δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα, πυνθανομένην ἐξιόντος εἴ τι λέγοι, C μεταστραφεὶς εἶπεν· "ἀγαθοῖς γαμεῖσθαι καὶ γαθὰ τίκτειν." ἐν δὲ Θερμοπύλαις μετὰ τὴν κύκλωσιν δύο τῶν ἀπὸ γένους ὑπεξελέσθαι βουλόμενος ἐπιστολὴν ἐδίδου τῷ ἑτέρῳ[3] καὶ ἔπεμπεν· ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐδέξατο φήσας μετ' ὀργῆς· "μαχατάς τοι, οὐκ ἀγγελιαφόρος, εἰπόμαν"· τὸν δ' ἕτερον ἐκέλευεν εἰπεῖν τι πρὸς τὰ τέλη τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν· ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο, ⟨"κρείσσων ἐγὼ μένων καὶ κρείσσον' ἐμοῦ μένοντος⟩ τὰ πράγματα,"[4] καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα λαβὼν εἰς τάξιν κατέστη.

Ταῦτ' οὐκ ἄν τις ἐπετίμησεν ἄλλου παραλιπόντος· ὁ δὲ τὴν Ἀμάσιδος ἀποφόφησιν καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄνων τοῦ κλέπτου προσέλασιν[5] καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀσκῶν ἐπίδοσιν καὶ πόλλ' ἄλλα[6] τοιαῦτα συναγαγὼν καὶ

[1] αὐτῶν Leonicus, Turnebus : αὐτῷ.
[2] μέν] μὲν οὖν Pletho, Cobet.
[3] τῷ ἑτέρῳ Wyttenbach : θατέρῳ Reiske : ἑτέρῳ.
[4] ἀπεκρίνατο, ⟨"κρείσσων ἐγὼ μένων καὶ κρείσσον' ἐμοῦ μένοντος⟩ τὰ πράγματα" L. P. (*cf. Mor.* 225 E) : ἀπεκρίνατο τῷ πράγματι Wyttenbach : ἀπεκρίνοντος (*sic*) τὰ πράγματα Aldine edition : ἀπεκρίνατο τὰ πράγματα.
[5] προσέλασιν Stephanus : προσέλευσιν.
[6] πόλλ' ἄλλα Bernardakis : ἄλλα πολλὰ Reiske : πολλὰ.

[a] *Cf. Mor.* 225 A and Diodorus, xi. 4. 3-4.
[b] Plutarch tells this same story in *Mor.* 225 A and 240 E. The question always comes from Leonidas' wife, Gorgo, but since the message is meant for Spartan womanhood in general, the story in its original form perhaps made the question come from a nameless Spartan woman. Ambiguity between "the woman who asked him" and "his wife asking him" would be easy in Greek.

tion a few of them now. They celebrated their own funeral games before leaving Sparta, with their fathers and mothers among the spectators. And there is the reply of Leonidas himself, when someone said to him that he was taking very few men out to battle, and he answered: "Many enough to take to their death."[a] And to his wife, who asked him as he was leaving if he had a message to give, he turned and said: "Marry good husbands and bear good children."[b] And at Thermopylae, after the encirclement, wishing to save two men of noble family, he gave one a dispatch to carry and sent him off, but the man refused, saying angrily: "I came with you to fight, not to carry messages"[c]; and when he ordered the other man to take a message to the Spartan authorities, he answered: "I shall do my duty better if I stay here, and the news will be better if I stay here"; and he picked up his shield and took his place in the ranks.[d]

One could let these omissions pass without criticism in another author,[e] but in an author who describes the vulgar retort of Amasis[f] and how the thief brought along the donkeys and made the guards drunk[g] and who has collected and recorded many other stories of

[c] *Cf. Mor.* 221 D, 225 E.
[d] The Greek text is corrupt and the man's reply is supplied by a conjectural restoration; in *Mor.* 225 E, where the same story is told, he says: "I shall be a better man if I stay here."
[e] Herodotus has in fact several stories of this type in vii. 221, 229-232.
[f] ii. 162. 3.
[g] ii. 121, in the story of Rhampsinitus.

(866)
D διαμνημονεύων, οὐκ ἀμελείᾳ δόξειεν ἂν καὶ ὑπεροψίᾳ προΐεσθαι καλὰ μὲν ἔργα καλὰς δὲ φωνάς, ἀλλ' οὐκ εὐμενὴς ὢν πρὸς ἐνίους οὐδὲ δίκαιος.

33. Τοὺς δὲ Θηβαίους πρῶτον[1] μέν φησι " μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐόντας μάχεσθαι ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἐχομένους "· οὐ γὰρ μόνον Ξέρξης, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Λεωνίδας μαστιγοφόρους εἶχεν ἑπομένους, ὑφ' ὧν οἱ Θηβαῖοι παρὰ γνώμην ἠναγκάζοντο μαστιγούμενοι μάχεσθαι. καὶ τίς ἂν ὠμότερος τούτου γένοιτο συκοφάντης, ὃς μάχεσθαι μὲν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης φησὶ τοὺς ἀπελθεῖν καὶ φεύγειν[2] δυναμένους, μηδίσαι δ' ἑκόντας οἷς οὐδεὶς παρῆν βοηθῶν; ἑξῆς δὲ τούτοις γέγραφεν ὅτι " τῶν ἄλλων ἐπειγομένων
E ἐπὶ τὸν Κολωνὸν ἀποσχισθέντες οἱ Θηβαῖοι χεῖράς τε προέτειναν καὶ ἦσαν[3] ἆσσον τῶν βαρβάρων, λέγοντες τὸν ἀληθέστατον τῶν λόγων, ὡς μηδίσειαν[4] καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἔδοσαν[5] βασιλεῖ, ὑπὸ δ' ἀνάγκης ἐχόμενοι εἰς Θερμοπύλας ἀπικέατο[6] καὶ ἀναίτιοι εἶεν τοῦ τρώματος τοῦ γενομένου βασιλεῖ· ταῦτα λέγοντες περιεγένοντο· εἶχον γὰρ καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς τούτων τῶν λόγων μάρτυρας." ὅρα διὰ τοσούτων ἐν βαρβάροις κραυγαῖς καὶ παμμιγέσι θορύβοις καὶ φυγαῖς καὶ[7] διώξεσιν ἀκουομένην δικαιολογίαν καὶ μαρτύρων ἀνάκρισιν καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς μεταξὺ τῶν φονευομένων καὶ πατουμένων ὑπ'
F ἀλλήλων παρὰ τὰ[8] στενὰ Θηβαίοις συνδικοῦντας, ὅτι τῆς Ἑλλάδος αὐτοὺς κρατοῦντας ἄχρι Θεσπιέων

[1] πρῶτον Basel edition: πρῶτος: τέως Reiske (as in Herodotus).
[2] φεύγειν] φυγεῖν Herwerden.
[3] προέτειναν καὶ ἦσαν] προέτεινον καὶ ἦισαν MSS. of Herodotus.
[4] μηδίσειαν] μηδίζουσι Turnebus (as in Herodotus).
[5] ἔδοσαν] ἔδοσαν ἂν Reiske.
[6] ἀπικέατο] ἀπικοίατο Turnebus (as in Herodotus).

this kind, one can hardly think that he omits noble actions and noble sayings because he is careless of detail or thinks them beneath his notice; it must be because he is hostile and prejudiced towards certain parties.

33. " For a time," he says, " the Thebans fought along with the Greeks, as they had no alternative." [a] It seems, then, that Leonidas, like Xerxes, had men with whips in his army, under whose blows the Thebans were forced to fight against their will. How could calumny be more cruel than this? He says that men who could have run away and escaped fought because they had no alternative, and that men who had no one to support them were glad to medize. Then he goes on: " When the rest of the Greeks were pushing towards the Hill, the Thebans broke away and went towards the barbarians holding out their hands in entreaty, saying—with perfect truth—that they had medized and given earth and water to the king, that they had come to Thermopylae under compulsion and were innocent of the blow which the king had suffered; and these words saved their lives, because they had Thessalians as witnesses to their statement." [b] Just imagine such a plea being heard in such a situation, amid the barbarians' shrieks and the confused shouting of the flight and pursuit! And imagine the witnesses being questioned. With men being killed and trampled underfoot all around them in the narrow pass, the Thessalians support the Thebans' plea by saying: " Until recently we controlled Greece as far as Thespiae, but they defeated us in

[a] vii. 233. 1. [b] vii. 233. 1-2.

[7] καὶ B: omitted in E.
[8] παρὰ τὰ] πάντα γὰρ Aldine and Basel eds.

(866) ἔναγχος ἐξήλασαν μάχῃ περιγενόμενοι[1] καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα Λατταμύαν[2] ἀποκτείναντες. ταῦτα γὰρ ὑπῆρχε Βοιωτοῖς τότε καὶ Θεσσαλοῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐπιεικὲς δὲ καὶ φιλάνθρωπον οὐδέν.

Ἀλλὰ δὴ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν μαρτυρούντων, πῶς περιεγένοντο Θηβαῖοι; "τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν οἱ βάρβαροι προσιόντας," ὡς αὐτὸς εἴρηκε, "τοὺς δὲ[3] πλεῦνας, κελεύσαντος Ξέρξεω, ἔστιξαν στίγματα βασιλήια, ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ
867 Λεοντιάδεω." ἀλλ' οὔτε[4] Λεοντιάδης ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἦν στρατηγός, ἀλλ' Ἀνάξανδρος, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης ἐκ τῶν κατ' ἄρχοντας ὑπομνημάτων ἱστόρησε καὶ Νίκανδρος ὁ Κολοφώνιος· οὔτε γινώσκει τις ἀνθρώπων[5] πρὸ Ἡροδότου στιχθέντας ὑπὸ Ξέρξου Θηβαίους. ἐπεὶ μέγιστον ἦν ἀπολόγημα τῆς διαβολῆς καὶ καλῶς εἶχε τὴν πόλιν ἀγάλλεσθαι τοῖς στίγμασιν ἐκείνοις, ὡς Ξέρξου δικάσαντος ἐχθίστοις χρήσασθαι Λεωνίδῃ καὶ Λεοντιάδῃ· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ᾔκισατο πεπτωκότος τὸ σῶμα, τοῦ δὲ ζῶντος ἔστιξεν. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν εἰς Λεωνίδαν ὠμό-

[1] περιγενόμενοι Meziriacus : παραγενόμενοι.
[2] Λατταμύαν E : Λατταμίαν B.
[3] δὲ Bernardakis : δέ τι E : δ' ἔτι B.
[4] ἀλλ' οὔτε Reiske : οὔτε.
[5] ἀνθρώπων Stephanus : ἀνθρώπους.

[a] *Cf. Life of Camillus*, chap. xix, where this victory is dated "more than 200 years before Leuctra," *i.e.* 571 B.C. at latest, in which case it is hardly relevant to the present situation; Beloch, therefore, is disposed to date it towards the end of the 6th century (*Griechische Geschichte*, i. 2. 205). The battle is not mentioned by any author except Plutarch; perhaps he is still following the Boeotian historian Aristophanes.

battle and drove us back, killing our commander Lattamyas."[a] That was how Boeotians and Thessalians stood towards one another at the time; there was nothing warm or friendly in their relationship.

However, suppose the Thessalians did bear witness —how did the Thebans save themselves? "Some of them the barbarians killed as they came forward" (this is what he says himself), "but most of them, at Xerxes' command, they branded with the royal brand-marks, beginning with the general, Leontiadas."[b] But the general at Thermopylae was not Leontiadas but Anaxander, as Aristophanes tells us, on the basis of the *Register of Magistrates*,[c] and Nicander of Colophon[d]; nor is anyone aware, until Herodotus writes, that Xerxes branded any Thebans. Indeed, it would have been the strongest defence in reply to charges against them and the city might well have prided itself on these brand-marks, if they could claim that Xerxes gave orders to treat both Leonidas and Leontiadas as his bitterest enemies, mutilating the body of the Spartan leader in death and branding Leontiadas while still living.[e] Herodotus, however,

[b] vii. 233. 2.
[c] *Frag. Gr. Hist.* iii B, no. 379, F. 6.
[d] *Frag. Gr. Hist.* iii A, no. 271-272, F. 35.
[e] Eurymachus, the son of Leontiadas, was instrumental in planning the Theban attack on Plataea in 431 B.C. which opened the Peloponnesian War (Thucydides, ii. 2. 3; Herodotus, vii. 233. 2, says he was killed when commanding the Theban force, perhaps incorrectly). Whatever official positions were held by father and son, Athenian ill-feeling against the family is easy to understand. The branding story may not be true; but Plutarch seems deliberately perverse in failing to see the point of it—that the king branded the Theban captives as *untrustworthy slaves* who had turned against him; thus the story, if true, is in fact proof that Thebes had formally medized.

(867) B τητα δήλωμα ποιούμενος, ὅτι μάλιστα δὴ ἀνδρῶν ὁ βάρβαρος ἐθυμώθη ζῶντι Λεωνίδῃ, Θηβαίους δὲ καὶ μηδίζοντας λέγων ἐν Θερμοπύλαις στιχθῆναι καὶ στιχθέντας αὖθις ἐν Πλαταιαῖς μηδίζειν προθύμως δοκεῖ μοι, καθάπερ Ἱπποκλείδης ὁ τοῖς σκέλεσι χειρονομῶν ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, εἰπεῖν ἂν ἐξορχούμενος[1] τὴν ἀλήθειαν· " οὐ φροντὶς Ἡροδότῳ."

34. Ἐν δὲ τῇ ὀγδόῃ τοὺς Ἕλληνάς φησι καταδειλιάσαντας ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου[2] δρησμὸν βουλεύεσθαι ἔσω εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ τῶν Εὐβοέων δεομένων ὀλίγον ἐπιμεῖναι χρόνον, ὅπως ὑπεκθοῖντο γενεὰς καὶ τὸ οἰκετικόν, ὀλιγωρεῖν, ἄχρι[3] οὗ C Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀργύριον λαβὼν Εὐρυβιάδῃ τε μετέδωκε καὶ Ἀδειμάντῳ τῷ Κορινθίων στρατηγῷ· τότε δὲ μεῖναι καὶ διαναυμαχῆσαι πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους. ὁ μὲν Πίνδαρος, οὐκ ὢν συμμάχου πόλεως ἀλλὰ μηδίζειν αἰτίαν ἐχούσης, ὅμως τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου μνησθεὶς ἐπιπεφώνηκεν·

> ὅθι[4] παῖδες Ἀθαναίων[5] ἐβάλοντο[6] φαεννὰν
> κρηπῖδ'[7] ἐλευθερίας.

Ἡρόδοτος δέ, ὑφ' οὗ κεκοσμῆσθαί τινες ἀξιοῦσι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, δωροδοκίας καὶ κλοπῆς ἔργον ἀποφαίνει τὴν νίκην ἐκείνην γενομένην καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀκουσίως ἀγωνισαμένους, ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐξ-

[1] ἐξορχούμενος] ἀπορχούμενος Herwerden (*cf.* Herodotus, vi. 129). [2] Ἀρτεμισίου B : Ἀρτεμεισίου E (so also below).
[3] ἄχρι E : ἄχρις B.
[4] ὅθι B : ὡς οἱ E : ὅτι Aldine edition.
[5] Ἀθαναίων Boeckh : Ἀθηναίων.
[6] ἐβάλοντο Stephanus : ἐβάλλοντο.
[7] φαεννὰν κρηπῖδ' E : φαενὰν κρηπίδ' B.

offers the savagery of Xerxes towards Leonidas as a proof that the barbarian hated no one so much in life as Leonidas; but he shows the Thebans being branded at Thermopylae, even though they medized, and then, despite the branding, he shows them just as eager to medize at Plataea. It looks to me as though, like Hippocleides standing on his head on the table and waving his legs in the air, Herodotus would " dance away the truth " and say: " Herodotus doesn't care." [a]

34. In Book VIII he says that the Greeks took fright at Artemisium and planned to run away into the straits to Greek territory, and when the Euboeans begged them to wait for a little time, so that they could remove their families and their slaves to safety, they paid no attention until Themistocles was given money and shared it with Eurybiadas and the Corinthian commander Adeimantus; only then did they remain to face the barbarians in battle at sea.[b] Pindar comes from a city which was not an ally, but was accused of medism; none the less he has a word of praise for Artemisium, as the place

> Where sons of Athens laid for Freedom
> A gleaming white foundation-stone.[c]

But Herodotus, whom some people regard as the panegyrist of Greece, represents that victory as the fruit of bribery and deceit, and shows the Greeks fighting reluctantly, tricked by their corrupt com-

[a] For the story of Hippocleides, the suitor who " danced away his marriage," see Herodotus, vi. 127-129.
[b] viii. 4. 1-2. *Cf. Life of Themistocles*, chap. vii, where Plutarch makes no protest against the story.
[c] Frag. 77 (Bergk-Schroeder-Snell), 65 (Bowra), quoted also in *Life of Themistocles*, chap. viii and *Mor.* 350 A, 552 B.

(867) απατηθέντας ἀργύριον λαβόντων. καὶ τοῦτο τὸ
D πέρας[1] οὐ γέγονεν αὐτῷ τῆς κακοηθείας· ἀλλὰ πάντες μὲν ἄνθρωποι σχεδὸν ὁμολογοῦσι ταῖς ναυμαχίαις αὐτόθι κρατοῦντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὅμως ὑφέσθαι τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου τοῖς βαρβάροις, τὰ περὶ Θερμοπύλας ἀκούσαντας· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν ὄφελος ἐνταῦθα καθημένους φρουρεῖν τὴν θάλασσαν, ἐντὸς Πυλῶν τοῦ πολέμου γεγονότος καὶ Ξέρξου τῶν παρόδων κρατοῦντος. Ἡρόδοτος δέ, πρὶν ἀπαγγελῆναι τὸν Λεωνίδου θάνατον, ἤδη ποιεῖ τοὺς Ἕλληνας βουλευομένους ἀποδιδράσκειν· λέγει δ' οὕτως· " τρηχέως[2] δὲ περιεφθέντες,[3] καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα
E Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν αἱ ἡμίσειαι τῶν νεῶν τετρωμέναι ἦσαν, δρησμὸν ἐβούλευον[4] εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα." καίτοι τὴν πρὸ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἀναχώρησιν οὕτως ὀνομάσαι, μᾶλλον δ' ὀνειδίσαι, δεδόσθω· ὁ δὲ καὶ πρότερον δρασμὸν εἶπεν καὶ νῦν δρασμὸν ὀνομάζει καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον πάλιν ἐρεῖ δρασμόν· οὕτω πικρῶς[5] τῷ ῥήματι προσπέφυκε. " τοῖς δὲ βαρβάροισιν αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα πλοίῳ ἦλθεν ἀνὴρ Ἑστιαιεύς,[6] ἀγγέλλων τὸν δρησμὸν τὸν ἀπ' Ἀρτεμισίου τῶν[7] Ἑλλήνων· οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ[8] ἀπιστίης τὸν μὲν ἀγγέλλοντα εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, νέας δὲ ταχείας ἀπέστειλαν προκατοψομένας."[9]

Τί σὺ λέγεις; ἀποδιδράσκειν ὡς κεκρατημένους,

[1] τὸ πέρας E : πέρας B.

[2] τρηχέως E : τριχέως B.

[3] περιεφθέντες Reiske (as in Herodotus) : περιερχθέντες E : περιενεχθέντες B.

[4] ἐβούλευον E : ἐβουλεύοντο B. Herwerden adds ἔσω as in Herodotus.

[5] πικρῶς] γλίσχρως Wyttenbach.

[6] Ἑστιαιεύς] Ἰστιαιεύς MSS. of Herodotus.

manders. Nor does his malice stop at this point. Almost everyone agrees that though the Greeks had the upper hand in the battles at sea here, they nevertheless yielded Artemisium to the barbarians when they heard of the fate of Thermopylae, because there was no point in sitting there keeping guard at sea once the war came past Thermopylae and Xerxes was in control of the passes.[a] Herodotus, however, shows the Greeks planning to run away even before the death of Leonidas is reported. These are his words : " They had suffered severely, especially the Athenians, of whose ships half the number had been damaged, and they planned to run away to Greece."[b] Now he may be permitted to talk of running away and to use such a term of reproach in speaking of retreat before the battle ; but he talks of " running away " now just as on the former occasion, and a little later on again he will speak of " running away "—so fierce is his attachment to this expression : " Immediately after this a man from Histiaea arrived by ship telling the barbarians that the Greeks had run away from Artemisium ; but not believing this messenger they kept him under guard and sent out fast ships to see for themselves."[c]

What do you mean ? That they are " running

[a] Modern critics would agree on this point. It is a weakness of the narrative of Herodotus that the combined strategy by land and sea is not made clear (*cf.*, *e.g.*, How and Wells, *Commentary*, vol. ii, pp. 371-372).

[b] viii. 18.

[c] viii. 23. 1.

[7] τὸν ἀπ' Ἀ. τῶν Duebner (as in most MSS. of Herodotus) : τὸν Ἀ. τὸν τῶν E : τὸν Ἀ. τὸν τὸν B.

[8] ὑπὸ B (as in Herodotus) : ἀπὸ E.

[9] προκατοψομένας B : προσκατοψομένας E.

(867) F οὓς οἱ πολέμιοι μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἀπιστοῦσι φεύγειν ὡς πολὺ κρατοῦντας; εἶτα πιστεύειν ἄξιον τούτῳ γράφοντι περὶ ἀνδρὸς ἢ πόλεως μιᾶς, ὃς ἑνὶ ῥήματι τὸ νίκημα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀφαιρεῖται καὶ τὸ τρόπαιον καθαιρεῖ καὶ τὰς ἐπιγραφάς, ἃς ἔθεντο παρὰ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ Προσηώᾳ,[1] κόμπον ἀποφαίνει καὶ ἀλαζονείαν; ἔχει δ' οὕτω τοὐπίγραμμα·

παντοδαπῶν ἀνδρῶν γενεὰς Ἀσίας ἀπὸ χώρας
παῖδες Ἀθηναίων τῷδέ ποτ' ἐν πελάγει
ναυμαχίᾳ δαμάσαντες, ἐπεὶ στρατὸς ὤλετο Μήδων,
σήματα ταῦτ' ἔθεσαν παρθένῳ Ἀρτέμιδι.

868 ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς μάχαις οὐκ ἔταξε τοὺς Ἕλληνας οὐδ' ἐδήλωσεν ἣν ἑκάστη πόλις ἔχουσα χώραν ἐναυμάχησε, κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἀπόπλουν, ὃν αὐτὸς δρασμὸν προσαγορεύει, πρώτους φησὶ Κορινθίους πλεῖν ὑστάτους δ' Ἀθηναίους.

35. Ἔδει μὲν οὖν μηδὲ τοῖς μηδίσασιν Ἑλλήνων ἄγαν ἐπεμβαίνειν, καὶ ταῦτα Θούριον μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων νομιζόμενον[2] αὐτὸν δὲ Ἁλικαρνασέων περιεχόμενον, οἳ Δωριεῖς ὄντες μετὰ τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐστράτευσαν.

Ὁ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀποδεῖ τοῦ πραότερον[3] ὀνομάζειν

[1] Προσηώᾳ Xylander (*cf. Life of Themistocles*, viii): προς . . (lacuna of 5-7 letters).
[2] νομιζόμενον] ὀνομαζόμενον Cobet.
[3] πραότερον Emperius: πρότερον.

[a] "Artemis who looks towards the east." It was this temple which gave the promontory of Artemisium its name. For the site see Lolling, *Mitteilungen des deutschen arch. Inst. in Athen*, viii (1883), pp. 7-23.
[b] Diehl, *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, ii, p. 104.
[c] viii. 21. 2.

away" like beaten men? The enemy regard them as definitely victorious and cannot believe that they are taking flight after the battle. Can we believe what such a man writes about any individual or any city? With a single phrase he wipes out the Greek victory, pulls down the trophy, and makes empty bombast out of the inscriptions which they set up in the temple of Artemis Proseôa.[a] This is the verse that stands there:

With men of every race from Asia's land
The sons of Athens fought once in these waters;
The victory won, the Persian host destroyed,
These gifts to maiden Artemis they offered.[b]

So also, in his account of the battles he did not describe the Greek arrangements or tell what station each city occupied with its ships, but in the withdrawal—"running away" as he calls it—he says the Corinthians went first and the Athenians last.[c]

35. He had no right to be so very severe even towards the Greeks who medized. After all, though some regard him as a citizen of Thurii, his attachment is really to the Halicarnassians,[d] those Dorians who took their harem with them on the expedition against Greece.[e]

He certainly fails to use fair terms in describing the

[d] Herodotus was a native of Halicarnassus, but took part in the settlement of Thurii in Italy, a colonial enterprise of Athens, in 444 B.C. In the opening words of his history, as preserved in the manuscripts, he called himself "the Halicarnassian;" but, as appears from Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, iii. 1409 a and Plutarch, *Mor.* 604 F, some ancient copies read "the Thurian." See Legrand, *Hérodote*, Introduction, pp. 12-14.
[e] The Halicarnassian forces were commanded by a woman, Artemisia. *Cf.* 869 F below.

(868)
B τὰς τῶν μηδισάντων ἀνάγκας, ὥστε περὶ Θεσσαλῶν διηγησάμενος ὅτι Φωκεῦσιν, ἐχθροῖς καὶ πολεμίοις οὖσι, προσέπεμψαν ἐπαγγελλόμενοι τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἀβλαβῆ διαφυλάξειν, εἰ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα μισθὸν λάβοιεν, ταῦτα περὶ Φωκέων γέγραφεν αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασιν· " οἱ γὰρ Φωκεῖς μοῦνοι τῶν ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐμήδιζον, κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ὡς[1] ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος εὑρίσκω, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἔχθος[2] τὸ Θεσσαλῶν· εἰ δὲ Θεσσαλοὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων ηὔξον,[3] ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ,[4] ἐμήδιζον ἂν οἱ Φωκεῖς." καίτοι μετὰ μικρὸν αὐτὸς ἐρεῖ τρισκαίδεκα πόλεις τῶν Φωκέων ὑπὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου κατακεκαῦσθαι, δι-
C εφθάρθαι τὴν χώραν, ἐμπεπρῆσθαι τὸ ἐν Ἄβαις[5] ἱερόν, ἄνδρας ἀπολωλέναι καὶ γυναῖκας, ὅσοι μὴ διαφυγόντες ἔφθησαν εἰς τὸν Παρνασόν. ἀλλ' ὅμως τοὺς τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ προέσθαι τὸ καλὸν ὑπομείναντας εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἔθετο κακίαν τοῖς προθυμότατα μηδίσασι· καὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ψέξαι μὴ δυνηθείς, αἰτίας ἐκάθητο φαύλας καὶ ὑπονοίας ἐπὶ τοῦ γραφείου[6] συντιθεὶς κατ' αὐτῶν καὶ κελεύων[7] οὐκ ἀφ' ὧν ἔπραξαν, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὧν ἔπραξαν ἂν[8] εἰ μὴ ταῦτα Θεσσαλοῖς ἔδοξε, κρίνεσθαι τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ χώρας ἀντ-
D ειλημμένης[9] ὑφ' ἑτέρων τῆς προδοσίας ἀπολειφθέντας.

[1] κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ὡς supplied from Herodotus : lacuna of about 20 letters in MSS.
[2] ἔχθος Stephanus (as in Herodotus) : ἄχθος.
[3] ηὔξον Bernardakis (as in Herodotus) : ηὔξουν.
[4] δοκεῖ] δοκέειν Herodotus.
[5] Ἄβαις Basel edition : ἄμβραις.

plight of those who were forced to medize ; but his unfairness does not stop there ; in his story of the message sent by the Thessalians to their bitter enemies the Phocians, in which they offer to keep their land unharmed in return for the price of fifty talents, these are the actual words that he uses about the Phocians : " The Phocians were the only people in this area who did not medize, for no other reason, as I conjecture, except their hatred of the Thessalians. I imagine that if the Thessalians had supported the Greek cause, the Phocians would have medized." [a] And yet, a little later, he will tell us himself that thirteen cities of the Phocians were burnt down by the barbarians, that their country was laid waste and the temple at Abae set on fire, and that all the men and women who did not escape to Mount Parnassus in time were killed.[b] Despite the fact that they were prepared to endure anything rather than betray their honour, he ranked them no higher than the most enthusiastic medizers. Not being able to find fault with what they actually did, he sat with his pen inventing base motives and rousing our suspicions against them, inviting us to judge their intentions not by what they did, but what they would have done if the Thessalians had acted differently—as though they failed to be traitors only because the traitors' place was already occupied by others.

[a] viii. 30. [b] viii. 32-33.

[6] ἐπὶ τοῦ γραφείου] ἀπίστους τῷ γραφείῳ Herwerden.
[7] κελεύων E : κολούων B.
[8] ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὧν ἔπραξαν ἂν added by Meziriacus : no lacuna marked in MSS.
[9] ἀντειλημμένης] ἀντειλημμένοις Aldine edition.

(868) Εἰ τοίνυν Θεσσαλούς τις ἐπιχειρεῖ τοῦ μηδισμοῦ παραιτεῖσθαι, λέγων ὡς οὐ ταῦτ' ἐβούλοντο, τῇ δὲ πρὸς Φωκέας διαφορᾷ τοῖς Ἕλλησι προστιθεμένους ὁρῶντες αὐτοὶ παρὰ γνώμην ἐμήδισαν, ἆρ' οὐκ ἂν αἴσχιστα κολακεύειν ἔδοξε καὶ πρὸς ἑτέρων χάριν αἰτίας χρηστὰς ἐπὶ πράγμασι φαύλοις πορίζων διαστρέφειν τὴν ἀλήθειαν; ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι. πῶς οὖν οὐ περιφανέστατα δόξει συκοφαντεῖν ὁ μὴ δι' ἀρετὴν τὰ βέλτιστα Φωκεῖς ἑλομένους ἀποφαινόμενος, ἀλλ' ὅτι τἀναντία Θεσσαλοὺς ἔγνωσαν φρο-
E νοῦντας; οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰς ἑτέρους, ὥσπερ εἴωθεν, ἀνάγει τὴν διαβολὴν ἀκηκοέναι λέγων ἀλλ' αὐτὸς εὑρίσκειν συμβαλλόμενος. εἰπεῖν οὖν ἔδει τὰ τεκμήρια, δι' ὧν ἐπείσθη τοὺς[1] ὅμοια πράττοντας τοῖς ἀρίστοις ταὐτὰ τοῖς φαυλοτάτοις διανοηθῆναι.

Τὸ γὰρ τῆς ἔχθρας γελοῖόν ἐστιν· οὔτε γὰρ Αἰγινήτας ἐκώλυσεν ἡ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους διαφορὰ καὶ Χαλκιδεῖς ἡ πρὸς Ἐρετριέας καὶ Κορινθίους ἢ[2] πρὸς Μεγαρέας τῇ Ἑλλάδι συμμαχεῖν· οὐδ' αὖ πάλιν Θεσσαλοὺς μηδίζοντες οἱ πολεμιώτατοι Μακεδόνες τῆς πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον φιλίας ἀπέστρεψαν. τὰς γὰρ ἰδίας ἀπεχθείας ὁ κοινὸς ἀπέκρυψε κίνδυνος, ὥστε τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν ἐκπεσόντας ἢ τῷ καλῷ δι'
F ἀρετὴν ἢ τῷ συμφέροντι δι' ἀνάγκην προστίθεσθαι τὴν γνώμην. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην

[1] τοὺς B : τοῖς E. [2] ἢ Reiske : ἤ.

[a] The Greek has a past tense, " obscured," but it is probably a gnomic aorist, used to express a general truth.

[b] Strictly Plutarch should have said that the Phocians chose both alternatives, attempting honourable resistance first and then medizing out of sheer necessity.

Now suppose someone tried to excuse the medism of the Thessalians by saying that they did not want to medize, but did so against their will because of their quarrel with the Phocians, when they saw them supporting the Greeks. It would seem to us, wouldn't it, that he was whitewashing their conduct in the worst possible way and that he was distorting the truth if, in order to please one side, he invented worthy motives to explain their unworthy actions? I am sure it would. How, then, can a writer be thought anything else but a barefaced slanderer when he represents the Phocians as choosing the noblest course not because they were good men, but because they found that the Thessalians were opposed to it? He does not even refer the slander to other people, as he usually does, and say he has " heard it " ; he says it is his own " conjecture." In that case he ought to have given the evidence which persuaded him that men who acted along with the best had the same intentions as the worst.

The motive of enmity is ridiculous. The Aeginetans were not stopped from fighting on the Greek side by their quarrel with the Athenians, nor the Chalcidians by their quarrel with the Eretrians, nor the Corinthians by their quarrel with the Megarians ; nor, on the other hand, were the Thessalians deterred from making friends with the barbarian because their bitterest enemies the Macedonians medized. The truth is that a common danger obscures [a] individual grievances ; men forget all other feelings, and either honour makes them decide for the nobler course or necessity for the expedient one.[b] Nor must it be for-

(868) ἐκείνην, ἣ κατελήφθησαν ὑπὸ Μήδοις γενέσθαι, πάλιν μετεβάλοντο πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας οἱ ἄνδρες, καὶ Λακράτης μὲν αὐτοῖς ὁ Σπαρτιάτης ἄντικρυς ἐμαρτύρησεν· αὐτὸς δ' ὁ Ἡρόδοτος ὥσπερ ἐκβιασθεὶς ἐν τοῖς Πλαταικοῖς ὁμολογεῖ καὶ Φωκέας παραγενέσθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν.

36. Οὐ δεῖ δὲ θαυμάζειν εἰ τοῖς ἀτυχήσασιν ἔγκειται πικρῶς, ὅπου καὶ τοὺς παραγενομένους
869 καὶ συγκινδυνεύσαντας εἰς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων μερίδα καὶ προδοτῶν μετατίθησι. "Νάξιοι γὰρ τρεῖς[1] ἔπεμψαν τριήρεις συμμάχους τοῖς βαρβάροις, εἷς δὲ τῶν τριηράρχων Δημόκριτος ἔπεισε τοὺς ἄλλους ἑλέσθαι τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων." οὕτως οὐδ' ἐπαινεῖν ἄνευ τοῦ ψέγειν οἶδεν, ἀλλ' ἵν'[2] εἷς ἀνὴρ ἐγκωμιασθῇ, πόλιν ὅλην δεῖ κακῶς ἀκοῦσαι καὶ δῆμον. μαρτυρεῖ δ' αὐτοῖς[3] τῶν μὲν πρεσβυτέρων Ἑλλάνικος τῶν δὲ νεωτέρων Ἔφορος, ὁ μὲν ἓξ ὁ δὲ πέντε ναυσὶ τοὺς[4] Ναξίους ἐλθεῖν τοῖς Ἕλλησι βοηθοῦντας ἱστορήσας. αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ παντάπασιν ἑαυτὸν ὁ Ἡρόδοτος ἐξελέγχει ταῦτα πλαττόμενον.
B οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ναξίων ὡρογράφοι λέγουσι καὶ πρότερον Μεγαβάτην ἀπώσασθαι ναυσὶ διακοσίαις ἐπιπλεύσαντα τῇ νήσῳ, καὶ Δᾶτιν αὖθις τὸν στρατηγὸν

[1] τρεῖς] τέσσερας Herodotus. [2] ἵν' Turnebus : εἰ.
[3] μαρτυρεῖ δ' αὐτοῖς (or : ἀντιμαρτυρεῖ δ' αὐτῷ) Reiske : μαρτυρεῖ δ' αὐτῷ. [4] τοὺς Reiske : αὐτούς.

[a] Lacrates is not known from any other source.
[b] This is inaccurate. Herodotus, ix. 17-18, says that in the spring of 479 the Phocians (who did medize, however unwillingly) were slow in sending 1000 hoplites to join Mardonius and that these were accepted by him only after a severe test of their bravery; in ix. 31. 5 he lists these thousand in the Persian line of battle, but adds that there were Phocian loyalists based on Parnassus making raids on the army of Mardonius.

gotten that, after the passing of the necessity that made them submit to the Medes, these men changed back again to the Greek side; the Spartan Lacrates [a] testified directly in their favour, and Herodotus himself, having no alternative, admits that Phocians were with the Greek forces in the campaign of Plataea.[b]

36. There is no need to be surprised that he attacks luckless victims so savagely when even those who stood firm and took their share of the danger are ranked by him as enemies and traitors. "The Naxians," he says, "sent three triremes to help the barbarians, but one of their captains, Democritus, persuaded the others to decide for the Greek cause." [c] This shows how he cannot praise without finding fault; in order that one man may be commended, the reputation of a whole city and people must suffer. Evidence in their favour comes from Hellanicus and Ephorus, to mention one older and one later writer. The former says that the Naxians sent six ships to help the Greeks, the latter that they sent five.[d] And, as a matter of fact, Herodotus himself provides the proof that his story is a complete fabrication. The chroniclers of Naxos say that they previously drove off Megabates when he approached the island with two hundred ships,[e] and subsequently repelled the Persian commander Datis, after he had burnt their

[c] A paraphrase, not an exact quotation, of viii. 46. 3.
[d] *Frag. Gr. Hist.* i, no. 4, F. 183; ii A, no. 70, F. 187.
[e] *Frag. Gr. Hist.* iii B, no. 501, F. 3. Herodotus, v. 32-34, says Megabates withdrew after spending four months in an attempt to take the city by siege.

(869) ἐξελάσαι[1] καταπρήσαντα ⟨τὰ ἱερά, αὐτοὶς δὲ Ναξίους οὐδὲν ἐπιχειρήσαντα⟩ ποιῆσαι κακόν.[2] εἰ δέ, ὡς Ἡρόδοτος εἴρηκεν ἀλλαχόθι, τὴν μὲν πόλιν αὐτῶν ἐμπρήσαντες διέφθειραν, οἱ δ' ἄνθρωποι καταφυγόντες εἰς τὰ ὄρη διεσώθησαν, ἦπου καλὴν αἰτίαν εἶχον τοῖς ἀπολέσασι τὴν πατρίδα πέμπειν βοήθειαν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῖς ἀμυνομένοις ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀμύνειν. ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἐπαινέσαι βουληθεὶς Δημόκριτον, ἀλλ' ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃ Ναξίων C συνέθηκε τὸ ψεῦδος, δῆλός ἐστι τῷ παραλιπεῖν ὅλως καὶ παρασιωπῆσαι τὸ Δημοκρίτου κατόρθωμα καὶ τὴν ἀριστείαν, ἣν[3] ἐπιγράμματι Σιμωνίδης ἐδήλωσε·

Δημόκριτος τρίτος ἦρξε μάχης, ὅτε πὰρ Σαλαμῖνα
Ἕλληνες Μήδοις σύμβαλον ἐν πελάγει·
πέντε δὲ νῆας ἕλεν δηίων, ἕκτην δ' ὑπὸ χεῖρα
ῥύσατο βαρβαρικὴν[4] Δωρὶδ' ἁλισκομένην.

37. Ἀλλὰ τί ἄν τις ἀγανακτοίη περὶ Ναξίων; εἰ γάρ εἰσιν ἀντίποδες ἡμῶν, ὥσπερ ἔνιοι λέγουσι, τῆς γῆς τὰ κάτω περιοικοῦντες, οἶμαι μηδ' ἐκείνους ἀηκόους εἶναι Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους βουλεύματος, ὃ βουλεύσας τῇ Ἑλλάδι ναυ- D μαχῆσαι[5] πρὸ τῆς Σαλαμῖνος ἱδρύσατο ναὸν Ἀριστοβούλης[6] Ἀρτέμιδος ἐν Μελίτῃ, τοῦ βαρβάρου

[1] ἐξελάσαι E : ἐξελᾶσαι B (*cf.* 865 c).

[2] καταπρήσαντα ⟨τὰ ἱερά, αὐτοὶς δὲ Ναξίους οὐδὲν ἐπιχειρήσαντα⟩ ποιῆσαι κακόν L. P. following Cobet : καταπρήσαντα ποιῆσαι κακόν : καταπλεύσαντα πλοίοις ἑκατὸν Emperius (ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν Wyttenbach).

[3] Bernardakis would add ἐν.

temples but did not attempt to do any actual harm to the people of Naxos.[a] And if it is true, as Herodotus has described elsewhere,[b] that the Persians burnt and demolished their city and the men saved themselves by taking refuge in the mountains, they certainly had a fine reason for sending help to the destroyers of their country and refusing to join those who resisted in the common cause of freedom![c] Herodotus evidently invented his story to discredit the Naxians and not because he wanted to praise Democritus ; this is clear from his complete omission and suppression of the heroic exploit of Democritus, which is celebrated in an epigram of Simonides[d] :

Democritus was third to offer battle
When Greek and Persian clashed at Salamis.
Five enemy ships he took ; and, sixth, a Dorian,
Rescued from capture by barbarians.

37. But why should one be upset over the Naxians ? If there are antipodean peoples, as some say, who dwell on the under side of the world, I imagine that even they have heard of Themistocles and the Themistoclean plan—how he counselled the Greeks to fight for Salamis and subsequently set up a temple of Artemis of Good Counsel at Melitê, after the bar-

[a] The Greek text is corrupt here, and this conjectural restoration is based on the account of Herodotus, vi. 96.

[b] vi. 96.

[c] The argument is quite absurd ; as subjects of Persia the Naxians would have no choice in the matter.

[d] *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, ii, p. 85.

[4] ὑπὸ χεῖρα . . . βαρβαρικὴν] ἀπὸ χειρὸς . . . βαρβαρικῆς Turnebus : ἀπὸ χειρῶν . . . βαρβαρικῶν Reiske.

[5] ναυμαχῆσαι B : ναυμαχήσας E.

[6] Ἀριστοβούλης Xylander (*cf. Life of Themistocles*, xxii) : βουλῆς.

(869) καταπολεμηθέντος. τοῦτο μὲν τοῦ[1] Θεμιστοκλέους ὁ χαρίεις συγγραφεὺς ὅσον ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ παραιρούμενος[2] καὶ τὴν δόξαν εἰς ἕτερον μεταφέρων ταῦτα γράφει κατὰ λέξιν· " ἐνταῦθα δὲ[3] Θεμιστοκλέα ἀφικόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν νέα εἴρετο Μνησίφιλος ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ὅ τι σφιν εἴη βεβουλευμένον· πυθόμενος δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἐστὶ δεδογμένον[4] ἀνάγειν τὰς νέας πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν καὶ πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου[5] ναυμαχέειν, εἶπε[6]· ' οὐκ[7] ἄρα, ἢν ἀπαίρωσι τὰς νέας ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος, οὐδὲ περὶ μιῆς[8] ἔτι πατρίδος ναύμαχήσεις· κατὰ γὰρ πόλεις ἕκαστοι τρέψονται ' "

E (καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον) " ' ἀλλὰ εἴ τις ἔστι μηχανή, ἴθι τε καὶ πειρῶ διαχέαι τὰ βεβουλευμένα, ἤν κως[9] δύνῃ ἀναγνῶσαι Εὐρυβιάδεα μεταβουλεύσασθαι ὥστε αὐτοῦ μενεῖν.' "[10] εἶθ' ὑπειπὼν ὅτι " κάρτα τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ ἤρεσεν ἡ ὑποθήκη, καὶ οὐδὲν πρὸς ταῦτα ἀμειψάμενος ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην," πάλιν αὐταῖς λέξεσι γέγραφεν· " ἐνταῦθα δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς παριζόμενός[11] οἱ[12] καταλέγει κεἰνά τε πάντα

F ἃ[13] ἤκουσε Μνησιφίλου ἑωυτοῦ ποιεύμενος,[14] καὶ

[1] τοῦ Valckenaer : τὸ.
[2] παραιρούμενος Valckenaer : παραιτούμενος.
[3] δὲ] δὴ Herodotus mss.
[4] ἐστὶ δεδογμένον Stephanus : ἐπιδεδογμένον : εἴη δεδογμένον Herodotus mss.
[5] Πελοποννήσου B : Πελοπονήσου E (this variation is constant and will not be noted again).
[6] εἶπε Stephanus (as in Herodotus) : omitted in mss.
[7] οὐκ] οὔτοι Herodotus.
[8] οὐδὲ περὶ μιῆς (as in one ms. of Herodotus)] other mss. of Herodotus have περὶ οὐδὲ μιῆς or περὶ οὐδεμίης.
[9] ἤν κως Stephanus (as in Herodotus) : ἡλίκως.

barians were defeated. But our clever historian does everything in his power to obscure the part played by Themistocles and to transfer the credit to another man. These are his actual words [a]: " Now when Themistocles came to his ship, an Athenian, Mnesiphilus by name, asked him what plan had been decided by them; and hearing from him that the decision was to withdraw the ships to the Isthmus and fight in defence of the Peloponnese, he said: ' In that case, if they remove the ships from Salamis, you will no longer even have a single native land to fight for [b]; the men will all go off separately to their own cities.' " Then a moment later he says [c]: " ' But if there is any way possible, go and try to upset these plans; perhaps you can somehow persuade Eurybiadas to alter his decision and remain here.' " Then Herodotus adds that this suggestion pleased Themistocles greatly and without saying a word in reply he went to Eurybiadas. Again I quote his actual words: " And then Themistocles sat down beside him and told him everything he had heard from Mnesiphilus, with some additions, presenting it as his own opinion." [d]

[a] viii. 57. 1-2.
[b] That is, the sense of fighting in defence of a united Greece will be lost; and that is the only thing that holds the forces together.
[c] Plutarch is abbreviating; the speech is unbroken in Herodotus.
[d] viii. 58. 1-2. On Mnesiphilus see *Life of Themistocles*, chap. ii.

[10] μενεῖν] mss. of Herodotus have μενέειν or μένειν.
[11] παριζόμενος (or : παρεζόμενος) mss. of Herodotus : lacuna of 7-9 letters . . . ζομενος.
[12] οἱ Herodotus : omitted in mss.
[13] πάντα ἃ E : ἃ B : πάντα τὰ Herodotus.
[14] ποιεύμενος E : ποιούμενος B.

(869) ἄλλα[1] προστιθείς." ὁρᾷς ὅτι κακοηθείας προστρίβεται τἀνδρὶ δόξαν, ἴδιον αὐτοῦ βούλευμα ποιεῖσθαι τὸ τοῦ Μνησιφίλου λέγων;

38. Ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον τῶν Ἑλλήνων καταγελῶν[2] Θεμιστοκλέα μὲν οὔτε φησὶ φρονῆσαι τὸ συμφέρον ἀλλὰ παριδεῖν, ὃς Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐπωνομάσθη διὰ τὴν φρόνησιν, Ἀρτεμισίαν[3] δὲ τὴν Ἡροδότου πολῖτιν, μηδενὸς διδάξαντος, αὐτὴν ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς ἐπινοήσασαν Ξέρξῃ προειπεῖν,[4] ὡς " οὐχ οἷοί τε πολλὸν χρόνον ἔσονταί τοι ἀντέχειν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλά σφεας διασκεδᾷς,[5] κατὰ πόλεις δὲ ἕκαστοι φεύξονται· καὶ οὐκ εἰκὸς αὐτούς, ἢν σὺ ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐλαύνῃς τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν, ἀτρεμήσειν,[6] οὐδέ σφιν μελήσειν πρὸ τῶν Ἀθηνέων[7] ναυμαχέειν· ἢν δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπειχθῇς ναυμαχῆσαι, δειμαίνω μὴ ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς κακωθεὶς καὶ[8] τὸν πεζὸν[9] προσδηλήσηται."[10] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν μέτρων ἐνδεῖ τῷ Ἡροδότῳ, Σίβυλλαν ἀποφῆναι[11] τὴν Ἀρτεμισίαν τὰ μέλλοντα προθεσπίζουσαν οὕτως ἀκριβῶς. διὸ καὶ Ξέρξης αὐτῇ παρέδωκε τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας ἀπάγειν εἰς Ἔφεσον· ἐπελέληστο γὰρ ἐκ Σούσων, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἄγειν γυναῖκας, εἰ γυναικείας ἐδέοντο[12] παραπομπῆς οἱ παῖδες.

39. Ἀλλ' ὃ[13] μὲν ἔψευσται, λόγος ἡμῖν οὐδείς·

[1] ἄλλα] ἄλλα πολλὰ MSS. of Herodotus.
[2] καταγελῶν B : κατεγελῶν E.
[3] Ἀρτεμισίαν B : Ἀρτεμεισίαν E (so also below).
[4] προειπεῖν Stephanus : προσειπεῖν.
[5] διασκεδᾷς Stephanus (as in Herodotus) : διασκεδίᾳ E : διασκεδιᾶν B.
[6] ἀτρεμήσειν] MSS. of Herodotus have ἀτρεμιεῖν or ἀτρεμέειν.
[7] Ἀθηνέων Bernardakis (with some Herodotus MSS.) : Ἀθηναίων (as in others).

You see how he contrives to make Themistocles look like a dishonest man, making him present the plan of Mnesiphilus as if it were his own.

38. His mockery of the Greeks goes even farther. Not content with saying that Themistocles never recognized what ought to be done and that it escaped his notice—this man who was nicknamed Odysseus for his cleverness—he makes his own fellow citizen Artemisia see it all by herself, with no one to prompt her, and warn Xerxes. " The Greeks will not be able to hold out for long against you," she says, " you will scatter them, they will take flight, each man to his own city ; and if you advance your land forces against the Peloponnese, it is unlikely that they will remain where they are or be concerned at all to fight in defence of Athens ; if, on the other hand, you are in a great hurry to fight a naval battle, my fear is that the navy, if it suffers defeat, will involve the land force in disaster also." [a] All that Herodotus needs here is verse to present Artemisia as a Sibyl—so accurately does she predict the future. And so Xerxes handed over his own sons to her to take back to Ephesus.[b] It seems that he had forgotten to bring any women from Susa—if the boys really needed a woman's protection on the journey.

39. However we are not concerned with the fact

[a] viii. 68. β-γ. [b] viii. 103.

[8] καὶ] not in Herodotus MSS.
[9] πεζὸν Stephanus, from Herodotus : not in MSS.
[10] προσδηλήσηται editors of Herodotus : προδηλήσηται (as in some MSS. of Herodotus ; others have προσδηλήσεται).
[11] ἀποφῆναι] ὡς ἀποφῆναι Reiske.
[12] ἐδέοντο] Perhaps δέοιντο should be read.
[13] ἀλλ' ὃ Stephanus : ἀλλ' ἃ Bernardakis : ἀλλω : ἀλλ' ὡς, ἀλλ' ὅτι, or ἄλλως μὲν εἰ also possible.

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B ἃ δέ γε κατέψευσται[1] μόνον ἐξετάζομεν. φησὶ τοίνυν Ἀθηναίους λέγειν, ὡς Ἀδείμαντος ὁ Κορινθίων στρατηγός, ἐν χερσὶ τῶν πολεμίων γενομένων, ὑπερεκπλαγεὶς καὶ καταδείσας ἔφευγεν, οὐ πρύμναν κρουσάμενος οὐδὲ διαδὺς ἀτρέμα διὰ τῶν μαχομένων, ἀλλὰ λαμπρῶς ἐπαιρόμενος τὰ ἱστία καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἁπάσας ἀποστρέψας· εἶτα μέντοι κέλης ἐλαυνόμενος αὐτῷ συνέτυχε περὶ τὰ λήγοντα τῆς Σαλαμινίας, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κέλητος ἐφθέγξατό τις· "σὺ μέν,
C ὦ Ἀδείμαντε, φεύγεις καταπροδοὺς τοὺς Ἕλληνας· οἱ δὲ καὶ δὴ νικῶσι, καθάπερ ἠρῶντο ἐπικρατῆσαι τῶν ἐχθρῶν." ὁ δὲ κέλης οὗτος ἦν, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐρανοπετής· τί γὰρ ἔδει φείδεσθαι[2] μηχανῆς τραγικῆς, ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑπερπαίοντα τοὺς τραγῳδοὺς ἀλαζονείᾳ; πιστεύσας οὖν ὁ Ἀδείμαντος "ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένοις[3]· αὕτη φάτις ἔχει ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων· οὐ μέντοι Κορίνθιοι ὁμολογέουσιν, ἀλλὰ ἐν πρώτοισι σφέας αὐτοὺς τῆς ναυμαχίης νομίζουσι γενέσθαι· μαρτυρεῖ δέ σφι καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλάς."

Τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ἐν πολλοῖς ὁ ἄνθρωπος[4]· ἑτέρας καθ' ἑτέρων διαβολὰς καὶ κατηγορίας κατατίθησιν,[5]
D ὥστε μὴ διαμαρτεῖν τοῦ φανῆναί τινα πάντως πονηρόν· ὥσπερ ἐνταῦθα περίεστιν αὐτῷ, ἀπιστουμένους Ἀθηναίους,[6] πιστευομένης δὲ[7] τῆς διαβολῆς Κορινθίων. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ πιστεύωσιν, ἀπιστοῦσιν Ἀθηναίοις. ἐὰν δὲ πιστεύωσιν, Κορινθίοις. οὐκ ἀπολείπεται τοῦ ψεύδεσθαι· τὸ γὰρ ἀληθὲς ἐν τῷ μέσῳ κεῖται.

[1] ἃ δέ γε κατέψευσται Turnebus: ἃ δέ τινων κατέψευσται Herwerden: ἃ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατέψευσται Wyttenbach: αδετ . . . (lacuna of 4 letters) ψεῦσται.

[2] φείδεσθαι Emperius: τητᾶσθαι Valckenaer: ἀπέχεσθαι Wyttenbach: τίθεσθαι.

[3] ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένοις Turnebus: ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένος B: ἐπεξειργασμένος E.

that he tells lies; we are examining only his malicious lies. According to him the Athenians say that, when the enemy approached, the Corinthian commander, Adeimantus, was seized with abject terror and took to flight, not by backing water and slipping quietly through the ranks of the fighters, but openly raising sail and making all his ships turn with him; and then, at the far end of the island of Salamis, a speeding cutter caught up with him and someone from the cutter called out: "So you are running away, Adeimantus, and you have betrayed the Greeks basely; and yet the victory is already in their hands, the victory over the enemy that they prayed to win." It seems that this cutter fell down from the skies—since he is more theatrical in every other respect than the writers of tragedy, why should he avoid using the machinery of the stage? And so Adeimantus believed what he was told and "returned to the camp to find that all was over; such is the Athenian story, though the Corinthians dispute it and maintain that they played a leading part in the battle; and the rest of Greece supports their contention." [a]

This is what the fellow does so frequently; he piles up different slanderous charges against different people, so that someone is bound to appear in a bad light in any event. And so here the result for him is that the Athenians are discredited if the charge is disbelieved, the Corinthians if it is believed. I don't

[a] viii. 94. 1-4.

[4] ἐν πολλοῖς ὁ ἄνθρωπος B: ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐν πολλοῖς E.

[5] κατατίθησιν B: κ . . . τίθησιν E.

[6] ἀπιστουμένους Ἀθηναίους transferred by L. P.: follows ἀδοξεῖν in MSS.: ἀπιστουμένης δέ, Ἀθηναίους Stephanus.

[7] δὲ] μὲν Stephanus.

(870) θίους ἀδοξεῖν. οἶμαι δὲ ⟨μήτ' Ἀθηναίων αὐτὸν ἀκοῦσαι κακιζόντων Κορινθίους⟩ μήτε[1] Κορινθίων Ἀθηναίους, ἀλλὰ τούτων[2] ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοῦ καταψεύδεσθαι. Θουκυδίδης γοῦν, ἀντιλέγοντα ποιῶν τῷ Κορινθίῳ τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ἐν Λακεδαίμονι καὶ πολλὰ περὶ τῶν Μηδικῶν λαμπρυνόμενον ἔργων καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίας, οὐδεμίαν αἰτίαν προδοσίας ἢ λιποταξίας[3] ἐπενήνοχε Κορινθίοις· οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰκὸς ἦν Ἀθηναῖον[4] ταῦτα βλασφημεῖν περὶ τῆς Κορινθίων πόλεως, ἣν τρίτην μὲν ὥρα[5] μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς[6] ἐγχαραττο-
E μένην τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀναθήμασιν. ἐν δὲ Σαλαμῖνι παρὰ τὴν πόλιν ἔδωκαν αὐτοῖς θάψαι τε τοὺς ἀποθανόντας, ὡς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γενομένους, καὶ[7] ἐπιγράψαι τόδε τὸ ἐλεγεῖον·

ὦ ξεῖν',[8] εὔυδρόν ποτ' ἐναίομεν ἄστυ Κορίνθου,
νῦν δ' ἄμ' Αἴαντος[9] νᾶσος ἔχει Σαλαμίς.
ἐνθάδε Φοινίσσας νῆας καὶ Πέρσας ἐλόντες
καὶ Μήδους, ἱερὰν Ἑλλάδα ῥυσάμεθα.[10]

[1] οἶμαι δὲ ⟨μήτ' Ἀθηναίων αὐτὸν ἀκοῦσαι κακιζόντων Κορινθίους⟩ μήτε L. P. : ἢν οἶμαι μηδὲ Wyttenbach : οἱ μὴδὲ E : ἢ οἱ μὴ δὲ B.
[2] τούτων] τοῦτον Turnebus.
[3] λιποταξίας Bernardakis : λειποταξίας.
[4] Ἀθηναῖον L. P. : Ἀθηναίους Reiske : Ἀθηναίοις.
[5] ὥρα] ὥρων Xylander.
[6] μετ' αὐτοὺς Turnebus : μετ' αὐτῶν E : μετ' αὐτοῦς (-οὺς or -ῶν?) B.
[7] καὶ Basel edition : omitted in MSS.
[8] ξεῖν' Wilamowitz : ξένε.
[9] δ' ἄμ' Αἰάντος Valckenaer, Bergk : δὲ μετ' Αἴαντος Dio Chrysostom, 37 :]ντος[*IG* i². 927 : δ' ἀνάματος.
[10] ῥυσάμεθα Pletho, Jacobs : ῥυόμεθα.

believe that he ever heard the Athenians making any such complaint against the Corinthians or the Corinthians complaining of the Athenians. I think he is libelling both parties at the same time. Thucydides represents an Athenian speaker at Sparta countering the speech of a Corinthian and making many fine claims about Athenian prowess in the Persian Wars, including the battle of Salamis [a] ; but he never introduces any charge of treachery or desertion against the Corinthians ; nor is it likely that an Athenian would make such abusive remarks about Corinth, when he could see the name of that city inscribed third in order on the barbarian spoils offered to the gods, following the name of the Spartans and the Athenians [b] ; and on Salamis the Corinthians were permitted to bury their dead near the city, as men who had fought bravely, and to inscribe this verse over them :

Hail stranger ! Once by Corinth's fairest springs we dwelt ;
Now Salamis, isle of Ajax, holds our dust.
Phoenician ships we smote here, Medes and Persians felled,
And kept the holy land of Hellas free. [c]

[a] i. 73-78, esp. 73. 2–74. 4.
[b] Notably on the Serpent Column, the offering made to Apollo at Delphi (Herodotus, ix. 81. 1) which is now in Istanbul ; for the text see Tod, *Gk. Hist. Inscr.* i, no. 19.
[c] *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, ii, p. 93 ; a marble slab found on Salamis has a two-line inscription which appears to be the first couplet of this epitaph (Tod, *Gk. Hist. Inscr.* i, no. 19 ; J. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Fig. 2). But the lettering on the stone is more in keeping with a much earlier date (before 600 B.C.), and it may in fact commemorate the death of Corinthians in an earlier expedition to Salamis. *Cf.* R. Carpenter, *Am. Journ. Phil.* lxxxiv. (1963), pp. 81-83.

(870) τὸ δ' ἐν Ἰσθμῷ κενοτάφιον ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχει ταύτην·

ἀκμᾶς ἑστακυῖαν ἐπὶ ξυροῦ Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν
F ταῖς αὐτῶν[1] ψυχαῖς κείμεθα ῥυσάμενοι.

Διοδώρου δέ τινος τῶν Κορινθίων τριηράρχων ἐν ἱερῷ Λητοῦς ἀναθήμασι κειμένοις καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπεγέγραπτο[2]·

ταῦτ' ἀπὸ δυσμενέων Μήδων ναῦται[3] Διοδώρου
ὅπλ' ἀνέθεν[4] Λατοΐ, μνάματα ναυμαχίας.[5]

αὐτός γε μὴν ὁ Ἀδείμαντος, ᾧ πλεῖστα λοιδορούμενος Ἡρόδοτος διατελεῖ καὶ λέγων, "μοῦνον ἀσπαίρειν[6] τῶν στρατηγῶν, ὡς φευξόμενον ἀπ' Ἀρτεμισίου καὶ μὴ περιμενοῦντα," σκόπει τίνα δόξαν εἶχεν·

οὗτος Ἀδειμάντου κείνου τάφος, ὃν δία πᾶσα[7]
Ἑλλὰς[8] ἐλευθερίας ἀμφέθετο[9] στέφανον.

871 Οὔτε γὰρ τελευτήσαντι τοιαύτην εἰκὸς ἦν ἀνδρὶ δειλῷ καὶ προδότῃ γενέσθαι τιμήν, οὔτ' ἂν ἐτόλμησε τῶν θυγατέρων ὄνομα θέσθαι τῇ μὲν Ναυσινίκην τῇ δ' Ἀκροθίνιον τῇ δ' Ἀλεξιβίαν, Ἀριστέα δὲ καλέσαι τὸν υἱόν, εἰ μή τις ἦν ἐπιφάνεια καὶ λαμπρότης περὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων ἐκείνων. καὶ

[1] αὐτῶν Scholiast on Aristophanes : αὑτῶν.
[2] ἐπεγέγραπτο E : ἐπιγέγραπται B.
[3] ναῦται Stephanus : αὗται.
[4] ἀνέθεν Blomfield : ἀνέθεντο.
[5] ναυμαχίας E : ναυμαχίης B.
[6] ἀσπαίρειν Cobet (*cf.* Herodotus, viii. 5) : ἀπαίρειν.
[7] ὃν δία πᾶσα] οὗ διὰ βουλὰς Dio Chrysostom, 37.
[8] Ἑλλὰς E : ἡ Ἑλλὰς B.
[9] ἐλευθερίας ἀμφέθετο Pletho, Basel edition : ἐλευθερίας ἀμφέθεντο B : ἐλευθερίαμφέθεντο E.

And this is the inscription on the cenotaph at Isthmus [a] :

We lie here who, when on a razor's edge
The life of Greece stood trembling, gave our own.[b]

And here is the inscription on the offerings in the temple of Leto made by one of the Corinthian captains, Diodorus :

The crew of Diodorus took
These arms from Persian foes ;
To Leto here they offered them
In memory of that fight.[c]

Or take Adeimantus himself, the man on whom Herodotus constantly loads insults, saying that "he alone held out, saying he would flee and not stay at Artemisium" [d]—consider the reputation he held :

Here buried Adeimantus lies, and thanks to him
All Greece put Freedom's crown upon her head.[e]

It is not likely that a man would be given such honour as this after death if he had been a coward and traitor, nor would he have dared to call one of his daughters Nausinicê and another Acrothinion and another Alexibia,[f] and to call his son Aristeus,[g] unless his behaviour on that occasion had invested him with some fame and distinction. Furthermore, the Corin-

[a] The precinct of Poseidon where the Isthmian Games were held.
[b] *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, ii, p. 95, *Palatine Anth.* vii. 250 ; an expanded version in three couplets also exists.
[c] *Palatine Anth.* vi. 215, *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, ii, p. 103.
[d] viii. 5. 1. *Cf.* above, 867 B—868 A.
[e] *Palatine Anth.* vii. 347, *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, ii, p. 95.
[f] "She who wins the day with ships," "First offerings of thanksgiving," "She who repels force."
[g] "He who excels."

(871) μὴν ὅτι μόναι τῶν Ἑλληνίδων αἱ Κορίνθιαι γυναῖκες εὔξαντο τὴν καλὴν ἐκείνην καὶ δαιμόνιον εὐχήν, ἔρωτα τοῖς ἀνδράσι τῆς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους μάχης
B ἐμβαλεῖν τὴν[1] θεόν, οὐχ ὅπως τοὺς[2] περὶ τὸν Ἡρόδοτον ἀγνοῆσαι πιθανὸν ἦν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸν ἔσχατον Καρῶν· διεβοήθη γὰρ τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ Σιμωνίδης ἐποίησεν ἐπίγραμμα, χαλκῶν εἰκόνων ἀνασταθεισῶν ἐν τῷ ναῷ[3] τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, ὃν ἱδρύσασθαι Μήδειαν λέγουσιν, οἱ μὲν αὐτὴν παυσαμένην[4] τάνδρός, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν Ἰάσονα τῆς Θέτιδος[5] ἐρῶντα παῦσαι τὴν[6] θεόν. τὸ δ' ἐπίγραμμα τοῦτ' ἐστίν·

αἵδ' ὑπὲρ Ἑλλάνων τε καὶ ἰθυμάχων[7] πολιητᾶν[8]
ἔσταθεν[9] εὐξάμεναι Κύπριδι δαιμόνιαι.[10]
οὐ γὰρ τοξοφόροισιν ἐμήδετο δῖ' Ἀφροδίτα[11]
Μήδοις Ἑλλάνων ἀκρόπολιν προδόμεν.

C ταῦτ' ἔδει γράφειν καὶ τούτων μεμνῆσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ

[1] τὴν Pletho, Stephanus : τὸν.
[2] τοὺς added by Turnebus, not in MSS.
[3] ναῷ B : νῷ E.
[4] παυσαμένην] Wyttenbach would add ἐρῶσαν.
[5] Θέτιδος] Κρεοντίδος Meziriacus.
[6] τὴν Stephanus : τὸν.
[7] ἰθυμάχων B : εἰθυμάχων E : εὐθυμάχων Athenaeus : ἀγχεμάχων Scholiast on Pindar.
[8] πολιητᾶν Pletho, Stephanus : πολιτᾶν.
[9] ἔσταθεν B : ἕσταθεν E : ἔστασαν Scholiast on Pindar.
[10] δαιμόνιαι] δαιμόνια Bernardakis.
[11] δῖ' Ἀφροδίτα Pletho, Stephanus : δι' Ἀφροδίταν.

[a] The typical " ignorant rustic " (*cf.* above, 860 E).

[b] On the summit of Acrocorinth, with a statue of Aphroditê in armour. *Cf.* Pausanias, ii. 5. 1. The prayer of these women—the hetaerae, who are her sacred devotees—should be understood as a plea for her help in her warrior aspect ;

thian women were the only women in Greece who offered that splendid inspired prayer that the goddess should fire their husbands with a passionate love for battle with the barbarian ; it is incredible that a man like Herodotus should be unaware of this ; even the remotest Carian [a] must have heard of it, because the story was in everyone's mouth and Simonides wrote an epigram for the bronze statues that were set up in the temple of Aphroditê [b] (the temple which Medea is supposed to have established, according to one version when she found herself no longer in love with her husband, according to another to thank the goddess for curing Jason of his love for Thetis [c]). This is the epigram :

> Here stand those ladies who to Cypris prayed
> For Greece and for our stalwart fighting men.
> The gods were with them ; Aphroditê vowed
> Our stronghold should not fall to Persian bows.[d]

Here is something that he should have recorded—here is something worth remembering—instead of

she is the armed protectress of Corinth. *Cf.* E. Will, *Korinthiaka*, pp. 225-7.

[c] It is usual to suppose that the name Thetis is a mistake (either of Plutarch himself or of a scribe) and that the reference is to Creon's daughter, Glaucê, the bride of Jason whom Medea murdered with the poisoned robe, as in Euripides' *Medea*. But it may not be a mistake. According to Athenodorus of Eretria (Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* iv, p. 345) Medea engaged in a beauty contest in Thessaly with Thetis and was judged the loser by Idomeneus ; this might mean that Jason fell in love with Thetis and Medea fell out of love with him, but that both were " cured " by Aphroditê before they came to Corinth.

[d] *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, ii, p. 101. The story of the Corinthian women and the epigram was recorded by Theopompus and Timaeus (*Frag. Gr. Hist.* ii B, no. 115, F. 285 ; iii B, no. 566, F. 10).

(871) τὴν Ἀμεινοκλέους ἐμβαλεῖν συμφορὰν καὶ[1] παιδοφονίαν.

40. Τῶν τοίνυν αἰτιῶν[2] τῶν κατὰ Θεμιστοκλέους ἀνέδην[3] ἐμφορηθείς, ἐν οἷς κλέπτοντα καὶ πλεονεκτοῦντα λάθρα τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν οὗ φησι παύσασθαι περὶ τὰς νήσους, τέλος αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸν στέφανον ἀφελόμενος Αἰγινήταις ἐπιτίθησι, γράφων ταῦτα· "πέμψαντες ἀκροθίνια οἱ Ἕλληνες εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπηρώτων τὸν θεὸν κοινῇ, εἰ λελάβηκε πλήρεα καὶ ἀρεστὰ τὰ[4] ἀκροθίνια· ὁ δὲ παρ' Ἑλλήνων μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἔφησεν ἔχειν, παρ'
D Αἰγινητέων δὲ οὔ, ἀλλ' ἀπαίτεε αὐτοὺς[5] τὰ ἀριστεῖα τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίας." οὐκέτι Σκύθαις οὐδὲ Πέρσαις οὐδ' Αἰγυπτίοις τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ λόγους ἀνατίθησι πλάττων, ὥσπερ Αἴσωπος κόραξι καὶ πιθήκοις, ἀλλὰ τῷ τοῦ Πυθίου προσώπῳ χρώμενος ἀπωθεῖ τῶν ἐν[6] Σαλαμῖνι πρωτείων τὰς Ἀθήνας. Θεμιστοκλεῖ δὲ τῶν δευτερείων ἐν Ἰσθμῷ γενομένων διὰ τὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἕκαστον αὐτῷ μὲν τὸ πρωτεῖον ἐκείνῳ δὲ τὸ δευτερεῖον ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ

[1] συμφορὰν καὶ L. P.: τῇ ἱστορίᾳ Bernardakis: lacuna of 12 letters in mss.
[2] αἰτιῶν Wyttenbach: αἰτίων.
[3] ἀνέδην Wyttenbach: ἀναίδην.
[4] τὰ added by Bernardakis (as in Herodotus): omitted in mss.
[5] ἀπαίτεε αὐτοὺς Stephanus (as in Herodotus): ἀπῆλθεν ἑαυτούς.
[6] ἐν added by Wyttenbach: omitted in mss.

[a] See above, 864 c. [b] viii. 112.
[c] viii. 122. The Greek is ambiguous (perhaps deliberately). It could mean either that the god wants them to thank him because *they* have won the prize or that he wants them to award *him* the prize. Plutarch takes it the first way

dragging in the sorry tale of Ameinocles killing his son.[a]

40. After he has made the most of the accusations levelled against Themistocles, telling how he continually went the round of the islands dishonestly enriching himself unknown to the other generals,[b] he finishes by turning against the Athenians themselves, takes the victor's crown from them and bestows it on the Aeginetans. This is what he writes: "After the Greeks had sent the first fruits of victory in thanksgiving to Delphi, they combined to ask the god if the first fruits he had received were full and satisfactory; and the god replied that he was satisfied with the offerings of all the Greeks except the Aeginetans; from them he demanded their prize for supreme valour in the battle of Salamis."[c] Thus he no longer picks Scythians or Persians or Egyptians to utter the sayings which he invents himself—as Aesop picks crows and apes[d]—but he uses the Pythian god as his mouthpiece to prevent the Athenians from receiving the first prize for valour at Salamis.[e] According to Herodotus the second prize was given to Themistocles at Isthmus, when each of the commanders awarded himself the first prize and Themistocles the second

and Herodotus does say that the Aeginetans won the greatest renown of all Greeks in the battle, with the Athenians coming next (viii. 93. 1); but since they answer the god's demand by offering three golden stars on a bronze mast, they may be recognizing the part played by the god when he sent them a sign of victory (see How and Wells on viii. 122).

[d] For Plutarch's interest in Aesop see *Septem Sapientium Convivium*.

[e] Later tradition may have insisted that the first prize was in fact awarded to Athens (*cf.* Isocrates, *Panegyric*, 72). If so, Plutarch's anger is the more readily understood.

(871) τέλος τῆς κρίσεως μὴ λαβούσης, δέον αἰτιάσασθαι
E τὴν φιλοτιμίαν τῶν στρατηγῶν, πάντας ἀποπλεῦσαί φησι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὑπὸ φθόνου μὴ βουληθέντας ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν ἄνδρα πρῶτον.

41. Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐνάτῃ καὶ τελευταίᾳ τῶν βίβλων, ὅσον ἦν ὑπόλοιπον ἔτι τῆς[1] πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους αὐτῷ δυσμενείας[2] ἐκχέαι σπεύδων, τὸ παρ' αὐτὸν[3] ἀφείλετο τὴν ἀοίδιμον νίκην καὶ τὸ περιβόητον Πλαταιᾶσι κατόρθωμα τῆς πόλεως. γέγραφε γὰρ ὡς πρότερον μὲν ὠρρώδουν τοὺς[4] Ἀθηναίους, μὴ πεισθέντες ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐγκαταλίπωσι,[5] τοῦ δ' Ἰσθμοῦ τειχισθέντος ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ θέμενοι τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἠμέλουν ἤδη τῶν ἄλλων καὶ περιεώρων, ἑορτάζοντες οἴκοι καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις τῶν Ἀθηναίων κατειρωνευόμενοι καὶ διατρίβοντες.
F πῶς οὖν ἐξῆλθον εἰς Πλαταιὰς[6] πεντακισχίλιοι Σπαρτιᾶται, περὶ αὐτὸν[7] ἔχων ἀνὴρ ἕκαστος ἑπτὰ εἵλωτας; ἢ πῶς κίνδυνον ἀράμενοι τοσοῦτον ἐκράτησαν καὶ κατέβαλον μυριάδας τοσαύτας; ἄκουσον αἰτίας[8] πιθανῆς· "ἔτυχε," φησίν, "ἐν Σπάρτῃ παρεπιδημῶν[9] ἐκ Τεγέας ἀνὴρ ὄνομα Χείλεως, ᾧ φίλοι τινὲς καὶ ξένοι τῶν ἐφόρων ἦσαν· οὗτος οὖν ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς ἐκπέμψαι τὸ στράτευμα, λέγων ὅτι τοῦ διατειχίσματος οὐδὲν ὄφελός ἐστι Πελοποννησίοις, ἂν Ἀθηναῖοι Μαρδονίῳ προσγένωνται." τοῦτο Παυσανίαν ἐξήγαγεν εἰς Πλαταιὰς μετὰ τῆς
872 δυνάμεως· εἰ δέ τι κατέσχεν οἰκεῖον ἐν Τεγέᾳ

[1] ἔτι τῆς Emperius : ἐν τῇ. [2] δυσμενείας E : δυσμενείᾳ B.
[3] αὐτὸν B : αὐτὸν E.
[4] ὠρρώδουν τοὺς Reiske : ὀρρωδοῦντας.
[5] ἐγκαταλίπωσι B : ἐγκαταλείπωσι E.
[6] εἰς Πλαταιὰς Leonicus : ἐκ Πλαταιᾶς.

prize; and so no final decision was reached; but instead of censuring their selfish ambition Herodotus merely says that all the Greeks sailed away after envy had made them refuse him the first place.[a]

41. In his ninth and last book he was anxious to vent all that was left of his venom against the Spartans and he did his best to deprive their city of its glorious victory and famous achievement at Plataea. This appears from his saying that previously they were afraid the Athenians might be persuaded by Mardonius and might abandon the Greek cause, but once the isthmus was fortified and they considered that the Peloponnese was safe, they no longer paid any attention to the rest but simply ignored them, keeping festival at home while they put off the Athenian envoys with empty words and wasted their time.[b] How did it happen, then, that five thousand Spartan citizens marched out to Plataea, each man with seven helots to attend him? or that they accepted the great hazard, won the day, and slew so many thousands? Listen to his convincing explanation: "It happened," he says, "that a man called Cheileôs was in Sparta on a visit from Tegea, who was bound by ties of friendship and hospitality to some of the ephors; and it was he who persuaded them to send out their army, telling them that the wall across the isthmus would be useless to the Peloponnesians if the Athenians went over to Mardonius."[c] This, it appears, is what brought Pausanias and his men out to Plataea; and if some private business or other had

[a] viii. 123. 1–124. 1. [b] ix. 6-8.
[c] ix. 9 (a paraphrase, not a quotation).

[7] αὐτὸν B : αὐτὸν E. [8] αἰτίας Stephanus : αἴτια.
[9] παρεπιδημῶν Turnebus : παρεπιδραμὼν.

(872) πρᾶγμα τὸν Χείλεων ἐκεῖνον, οὐκ ἂν ἡ Ἑλλὰς περιεγένετο.

42. Πάλιν δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις οὐκ ἔχων ὅ τι χρήσαιτο, ποτὲ μὲν αἴρει[1] ποτὲ δὲ καταβάλλει τὴν πόλιν ἄνω καὶ κάτω μεταφέρων, οὓς Τεγεάταις μὲν εἰς ἀγῶνα λέγει περὶ τῶν δευτερείων καταστάντας Ἡρακλειδῶν τε μεμνῆσθαι καὶ τὰ πρὸς Ἀμαζόνας πραχθέντα προφέρειν ταφάς τε Πελοποννησίων τῶν ὑπὸ τῇ Καδμείᾳ πεσόντων· καὶ τέλος εἰς τὸν Μαραθῶνα καταβαίνειν τῷ λόγῳ φιλοτιμουμένους καὶ ἀγαπῶντας ἡγεμονίας τυχεῖν τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ κέρως·
B ὀλίγον[2] δ' ὕστερον αὐτοῖς Παυσανίαν καὶ Σπαρτιάτας τῆς ἡγεμονίας ὑφίεσθαι, καὶ παρακαλεῖν ὅπως κατὰ Πέρσας ἀντιταχθῶσι τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας παραλαβόντες, αὐτοῖς δὲ παραδόντες τὸ εὐώνυμον, ὡς ἀηθείᾳ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους μάχην ἀπολεγομένους.[3] καίτοι γελοῖον, εἰ μὴ συνήθεις εἶεν οἱ πολέμιοι, μάχεσθαι μὴ θέλειν.

Ἀλλὰ τούς γ' ἄλλους Ἕλληνας εἰς ἕτερον ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀγομένους στρατόπεδον, " ὡς ἐκι-
C νήθησαν," φησί, " φεύγειν ἀσμένως τὴν ἵππον πρὸς τὴν τῶν Πλαταιέων[4] πόλιν, φεύγοντας δ' ἀφικέσθαι

[1] ποτὲ μὲν αἴρει added by Reiske: no lacuna marked in MSS.

[2] ὀλίγον E: ὀλίγῳ B.

[3] ἀπολεγομένους Wyttenbach: ἀπολογουμένους E: ἀπολογουμένους B.

[4] τῶν Πλαταιέων B: ἐν Πλαταιέων E: Πλαταιέων MSS. of Herodotus.

kept this man Cheileôs in Tegea, Greece would not have survived.

42. On the other hand he cannot decide how to treat the Athenians, but shifts them up and down, raising their city to the skies one moment and casting it down the next. He says that they disputed with the Tegeans the right to command on the left wing, a post which would put them next in honour to the Spartans and which would satisfy their ambition; and after beginning with a reference to the Heraclidae and Athenian exploits in the battle against the Amazons and pointing out how they gave burial to the Peloponnesians who fell at the foot of the Cadmeia, they finally came down to recent times with an appeal to Marathon.[a] Then a little later, according to Herodotus, Pausanias and the Spartans relinquished their command to the Athenians, inviting them to take over the right wing, so that they would be opposite the Persians, and hand over the left wing to the Spartans.[b] Thus the Spartans are supposed to disqualify themselves for fighting the barbarians because of their lack of experience. But it is absurd that they should be unwilling to face an enemy unless they had had previous experience with him.

As for the rest of the Greeks, however, he describes how their generals started to lead them to another camping ground, " and," he says, " when the move began they gladly seized the chance to run away from the enemy's cavalry into the city of Plataea, and their flight brought them to the temple of Hera." [c]

[a] ix. 26-27.

[b] ix. 46. Plutarch has omitted to say that, according to Herodotus (ix. 28-29) the Spartans gave the Athenians preference over the Tegeans and put them on the left wing.

[c] ix. 52.

(872) πρὸς τὸ Ἡραῖον ''· ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἀπείθειαν καὶ λιποταξίαν[1] καὶ προδοσίαν ὁμοῦ τι[2] πάντων κατηγόρησε. τέλος δὲ μόνους φησὶ τοῖς μὲν βαρβάροις Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Τεγεάτας τοῖς δὲ Θηβαίοις Ἀθηναίους συμπεσόντας διαγωνίσασθαι, τὰς δ' ἄλλας πόλεις ὁμαλῶς ἁπάσας τοῦ κατορθώματος ἀπεστέρηκεν· '' οὐδένα[3] συνεφάψασθαι τοῦ ἀγῶνος, ἀλλὰ καθημένους πάντας ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων ἐγγὺς καταλιπεῖν καὶ προδοῦναι τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μαχομένους· ὀψὲ δὲ Φλιασίους καὶ Μεγαρέας πυθομένους νικῶντα Παυσανίαν, προσφερομένους καὶ ἐμπεσόντας εἰς τὸ Θηβαίων ἱππικόν, οὐδενὶ λόγῳ διαφθαρῆναι· Κορινθίους δὲ τῇ μὲν μάχῃ μὴ παραγενέσθαι, μετὰ
D δὲ τὴν νίκην ἐπειγομένους διὰ τῶν λόφων, μὴ περιπεσεῖν[4] τοῖς ἱππεῦσι τῶν Θηβαίων ''· οἱ γὰρ Θηβαῖοι, τῆς τροπῆς γενομένης, προϊππεύοντες τῶν βαρβάρων προθύμως παρεβοήθουν φεύγουσιν αὐτοῖς, δηλονότι τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις στιγμάτων χάριν ἀποδιδόντες.

Ἀλλὰ Κορινθίους γε[5] καὶ τάξιν ἣν[6] ἐμάχοντο τοῖς βαρβάροις, καὶ τέλος[7] ἡλίκον ὑπῆρξεν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ Πλαταιᾶσιν ἀγῶνος ἔξεστι Σιμωνίδου πυθέσθαι γράφοντος ἐν τούτοις·

μέσσοι[8] δ' οἵ τ' Ἔφυραν[9] πολυπίδακα ναιετάοντες,
παντοίης ἀρετῆς ἴδριες ἐν πολέμῳ,

[1] λιποταξίαν Bernardakis : λειποταξίαν.
[2] τι E : τοι B.
[3] Reiske would add λέγων, Wyttenbach γὰρ.
[4] περιπεσεῖν Turnebus : παραπεσεῖν.
[5] γε Reiske : τε.
[6] ἣν] ᾗ or καθ' ἣν Wyttenbach, ἣν ἔχοντες Reiske.

With these words he has contrived to accuse practically everyone of disobedience, desertion of their posts, and treachery. And in the end he says it was only the Lacedaemonians and Tegeans who grappled and fought with the barbarians, and the Athenians with the Thebans ; all the other cities alike he deprives of their share in the victory. " None of them took any part in the battle, but all sat by their arms, deserting and betraying their comrades who were fighting for them near by, until at last the Phliasians and Megarians, hearing that Pausanias was winning the day, advanced and fell in with the Theban cavalry and were ignominiously cut to pieces ; and the Corinthians were not in the battle at all, but after the victory they hastened forward through the foothills and avoided the Theban troopers." [a] It appears that the Thebans, once the rout started, formed a cavalry screen for the barbarians and did their best to cover the retreat—in gratitude, no doubt, for the brands that they received at Thermopylae.[b]

Now so far as the Corinthians are concerned, the post they occupied in fighting the barbarians and the honour that resulted for them from the battle of Plataea may be seen from the following lines of Simonides :

And in the centre men from Ephyra's springs,
Brave warriors skilled in every branch of war,

[a] ix. 69.
[b] *Cf.* above, 866 F—867 B.

[7] τέλος] κλέος Wyttenbach.
[8] μέσσοι Stephanus, Turnebus : μέσσοισι (*i.e.* ἐν τούτοις μέσσοισι).
[9] οἵ τ' Ἔφυραν Reiske (following Xylander), Schneidewin : οἳ γέφυραν E : οἳ γ' ἔφυραν B.

(872) E οἵ τε πόλιν Γλαύκοιο, Κορίνθιον ἄστυ, νέμοντες,
οἳ καὶ[1] κάλλιστον μάρτυν ἔθεντο πόνων
χρυσοῦ τιμήεντος ἐν αἰθέρι· καί σφιν ἀέξει
αὐτῶν τ' εὐρεῖαν κληδόνα καὶ πατέρων.

ταῦτα γὰρ οὐ χορὸν[2] ἐν Κορίνθῳ διδάσκων οὐδ' ᾆσμα ποιῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἄλλως[3] δὲ τὰς πράξεις ἐκείνας ἐν ἐλεγείᾳ[4] γράφων ἱστόρηκεν.

'Ο δὲ προλαμβάνων τὸν ἔλεγχον τοῦ ψεύσματος
F τῶν ἐρησομένων, " πόθεν οὖν πολυάνδρια καὶ θῆκαι τοσαῦται καὶ μνήματα νεκρῶν, ἐν οἷς ἐναγίζουσιν ἄχρι νῦν Πλαταιεῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμπαρόντων," πρᾶγμα[5] αἴσχιον, ὡς οἶμαι, τῆς προδοσίας τῶν γενεῶν κατηγόρηκεν ἐν τούτοις· " τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὅσοι καὶ φαίνονται ἐν Πλαταιῇσιν ἐόντες τάφοι, τούτους δέ, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, αἰσχυνομένους[6] τῇ ἀπεστοῖ[7] τῆς μάχης ἑκάστους χώματα χῶσαι κεινὰ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων εἵνεκ' ἀνθρώπων." ταύτην τὴν ἀπεστὼ[8] τῆς μάχης προδοσίαν οὖσαν Ἡρόδοτος ἀνθρώπων μόνος ἁπάντων ἤκουσε, Παυσανίαν δὲ
873 καὶ Ἀριστείδην καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἔλαθον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐγκαταλιπόντες τὸν κίνδυνον· καὶ οὔτ' Αἰγινήτας Ἀθηναῖοι διαφόρους ὄντας εἶρξαν τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς, οὔτε Κορινθίους ἤλεγ-

[1] οἵ καὶ Ursinus : οἵπερ Hiller : οἷοι Diehl : οἵ.
[2] οὐ χορὸν Herwerden : οὐχ οἷον.
[3] ἄλλως] Bernardakis suggests ἁπλῶς.
[4] ἐν ἐλεγείᾳ Wilamowitz : ἐλεγεῖα.
[5] πρᾶγμα L. P. : ὄνειδος Reiske : ἔγκλημα or κατηγόρημα Bernardakis : lacuna of 5-9 letters in MSS.
[6] αἰσχυνομένους] MSS. of Herodotus have ἐπαισχυνομένους or ἀπαισχυνομένους.
[7] ἀπεστοῖ Stephanus (as in Herodotus) : ἀπο . . . (lacuna of 4-5 letters).

The countrymen of Glaucus, hailed the sun,
Shining like precious gold in the sky above,
To bear true witness to the way they fought.
So will their fame and fathers' fame increase.[a]

And these lines are not meant to be sung by a chorus in Corinth nor are they from an ode in honour of the city ; they come from an elegiac poem which simply tells the story of those events.

But Herodotus anticipated that people might expose his lies by asking : " How, then, do you explain these communal graves and all these tombs and monuments of the dead, at which the Plataeans make offerings to this day with the Greeks looking on ? " His answer is to make a charge far more shocking than that of betraying their kinsmen. " As for the supposed graves of other men which are to be seen at Plataea," he says, " my information is that these were piled up by the men from the various cities who were ashamed of their absence from the battle ; and they are empty mounds, intended to impress future generations." [b] Now this treacherous absence from the battle is something that no one else ever heard of except Herodotus. Pausanias and Aristeides, Spartans and Athenians alike, were quite unaware that their fellow Greeks shirked the danger ; and the Athenians did not bar the Aeginetans from being included in the inscription,[c] despite their enmity, nor challenge the claim of the Corinthians, whom they

[a] *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, ii, pp. 84-85.
[b] ix. 85. 3.
[c] For the inscription on the serpent column see note on 870 D above.

[8] ταύτην τὴν ἀπεστὼ Reiske : ταύτην ἀπεστὼ Stephanus : ταύτην ἀπο . . . (lacuna of 4-7 letters).

(873) ξαν, οὓς πρότερον νικῶντες[1] φεύγειν ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος, ἀντιμαρτυρούσης αὐτοῖς τῆς Ἑλλάδος. καίτοι Κλεάδας ἦν ὁ Πλαταιεύς, ὕστερον ἔτεσι δέκα[2] τῶν Μηδικῶν Αἰγινήταις χαριζόμενος, ὥς φησιν Ἡρόδοτος, ὃς[3] ἐπώνυμον ἔχωσεν αὐτῶν πολυάνδριον.

Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τί παθόντες εὐθὺς τότε πρὸς μὲν ἀλλήλους ὀλίγον ἐδέησαν εἰς
B χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν περὶ τοῦ τροπαίου τῆς ἀναστάσεως, τοὺς δ' Ἕλληνας ἀποδειλιάσαντας καὶ ἀποδράντας[4] οὐκ ἀπήλαυνον τῶν ἀριστείων, ἀλλ' ἐνέγραφον τοῖς τρίποσι[5] καὶ τοῖς κολοσσοῖς καὶ μετεδίδοσαν τῶν λαφύρων; τέλος δὲ τῷ βωμῷ τοὐπίγραμμα τοῦτο γράφοντες ἐνεχάραξαν·

τόνδε ποθ'[6] Ἕλληνες Νίκης[7] κράτει, ἔργῳ Ἄρηος,[8]
Πέρσας ἐξελάσαντες, ἐλευθέρᾳ Ἑλλάδι κοινὸν
ἱδρύσαντο Διὸς βωμὸν Ἐλευθερίου.

μὴ καὶ τοῦτο Κλεάδας ἤ τις ἄλλος, ὦ Ἡρόδοτε, κολακεύων τὰς πόλεις ἐπέγραψε; τί οὖν ἐδέοντο τὴν γῆν ὀρύσσοντες διακενῆς ἔχειν πράγματα[9] καὶ
C ῥᾳδιουργεῖν χώματα καὶ μνήματα τῶν ἐπιγιγνο-

[1] οὓς πρότερον νικῶντες] οὓς πρότερον εἶπον or αὐτοὺς πρότερον εἰπόντες Turnebus : ὡς πρότερον εἰπόντες Wyttenbach.
[2] ἦν ὁ Πλαταιεύς, ὕστερον ἔτεσι δέκα L. P. : ἦν ὁ Πλαταιεύς, ὃς ἔτεσι δέκα ὕστερον Duebner : ὁ Πλαταιεὺς ἔτεσι δέκα ὕστερον Stephanus : ἦν ὁ Πλαταιεὺς ἔτεσι δέκα.
[3] ὃς added by L. P.
[4] ἀποδράντας Herwerden : ἀποδράσαντας.
[5] τρίποσι Manton : στρ.'π.σι E : τροπαίοις B.
[6] ποθ' Stephanus : μεθ'. [7] Νίκης Stephanus : νίκην.
[8] In *Palatine Anthology*, vi. 50 a pentameter is inserted : εὐτόλμῳ ψυχῆς λήματι πειθόμενοι.
[9] πράγματα Duebner : τὰ πράγματα.

charged with running away from the previous victorious battle at Salamis (though Greece testified differently). And yet, so Herodotus tells us, it was Cleadas the Plataean, ten years after the Persian Wars, who, as a favour to the Aeginetans, piled up the communal burial mound which goes by their name.[a]

How does it happen, then, that the Athenians and Spartans almost came to blows immediately over the matter of setting up a trophy,[b] but instead of preventing the cowardly runaway Greeks from sharing in the honours they inscribed their names on the tripods and statues and gave them their share of the spoils? And, finally, these were the verses which they wrote and inscribed on the altar[c]:

When Greeks by Victory's power and work of Ares' hand
Drove forth the Medes, this common altar here they raised
Of Zeus, the god of Freedom, for Free Greece.[d]

Is it possible, Herodotus, that this inscription too was put up by Cleadas or someone else in flattery of the cities? What need, then, had they to undertake the useless labour of digging up the earth and piling up deceitful mounds and monuments for the sake of

[a] ix. 85. 3.
[b] *Cf. Life of Aristeides*, chap. xx, where Aristeides plays the part of peacemaker. The quarrel is not mentioned by Herodotus, and its historicity is very doubtful (*cf.* Hauvette, *Hérodote*, p. 482).
[c] The altar of Zeus Eleutherios, centre of the Festival of Freedom which was celebrated at Plataea every four years.
[d] *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, ii, p. 103, *cf. Life of Aristeides*, chap. xix. *Palatine Anth.* vi. 50 gives a slightly different version and normalizes the form by inserting a pentameter after verse 1 :
" In their own hearts' high courage trust reposing."

(873) μένων ἕνεκ' ἀνθρώπων κατασκευάζοντες, ἐν τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις καὶ μεγίστοις ἀναθήμασι τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν καθιερουμένην ὁρῶντες;

Καὶ μὴν Παυσανίας, ὡς λέγουσιν, ἤδη τυραννικὰ φρονῶν ἐπέγραψεν ἐν Δελφοῖς·

Ἑλλήνων ἀρχηγός, ἐπεὶ στρατὸν ὤλεσε Μήδων,
Παυσανίας Φοίβῳ[1] μνῆμ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε,

κοινούμενος[2] ἀμωσγέπως[3] τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὴν δόξαν ὧν ἑαυτὸν ἀνηγόρευσεν ἡγεμόνα· τῶν δ' Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἀνασχομένων ἀλλ' ἐγκαλούντων, πέμψαντες εἰς Δελφοὺς Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῦτο μὲν ἐξεκόλαψαν ⟨ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίποδος τὸ ἐλεγεῖον, πασῶν δ' ἀντεπέ-
D γραψαν⟩[4] τὰ ὀνόματα[5] τῶν πόλεων, ὥσπερ ἦν δίκαιον.[6] καίτοι πῶς εἰκός ἐστιν ἢ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀγανακτεῖν τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς μὴ μετασχόντας, εἰ συνήδεσαν[7] ἑαυτοῖς τὴν ἀπεστὼ[8] τῆς μάχης, ἢ Λακεδαιμονίους τὸν ἡγεμόνα καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐκχαράξαντας[9] ἐπιγράψαι τοὺς ἐγκαταλιπόντας καὶ περιιδόντας τὸν κίνδυνον; ὡς δεινότατόν ἐστιν, εἰ Σωφάνης μὲν καὶ Ἀείμνηστος[10] καὶ πάντες οἱ διαπρεπῶς ἀγωνισάμενοι τὴν μάχην ἐκείνην οὐδὲ
E Κυθνίων ἐπιγραφομένων τοῖς τροπαίοις οὐδὲ Μηλίων ἠχθέσθησαν,[11] Ἡρόδοτος δὲ τρισὶ μόναις

[1] Φοίβῳ B : φόβῳ E.
[2] κοινούμενος E : lacuna of 9 letters in B.
[3] ἀμωσγέπως Reiske : ἄλλως τε πῶς.
[4] ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίποδος τὸ ἐλεγεῖον, πασῶν δὲ ἀντεπέγραψαν added by L. P., following Powell and Manton ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίποδος τὸ ἐλεγεῖον, τοῦτο δὲ ἐπέγραψαν : no lacuna marked in MSS.
[5] τὰ ὀνόματα E : τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα B.
[6] ἐνεχάραξαν added in B.
[7] συνήδεσαν B : συνήδεισαν E.

future generations, if they saw their own good name consecrated on the most conspicuous and greatest monuments of all ?

Furthermore, Pausanias, who already had thoughts of tyranny in his mind, so they say, put up this inscription at Delphi :

> Commander of Greeks, who slew the Persian host,
> Pausanias to Phoebus raised this monument,[a]

thus sharing, after a fashion, his glory with the Greeks by declaring himself their commander. And when the Greeks refused to accept this wording and raised complaints, the Spartans sent to Delphi and erased this dedication, inscribing instead the names of all the cities, as was proper.[b] But can we believe that the Greeks would resent not being included in the inscription if their absence from the battle was on their conscience, or that the Spartans would strike out the name of their ruler and commander and substitute the names of men who shirked and ignored the contest ? It is very strange that Sophanes and Aeimnestus[c] and all the men who fought with distinction in that battle never objected when the Cythnians and Melians had their names engraved on the trophies,[d] while Hero-

[a] *Cf.* Thucydides, i. 132. *Palatine Anth.* vi. 197 gives the dedication in the first person and in the original Doric dialect.
[b] Thucydides, i. 132. 3.
[c] Herodotus, ix. 64, 73-75. *Cf. Life of Aristeides*, chap. xix, where the form Arimnestus is preferred.
[d] Cythnians and Melians are mentioned on the serpent column (see note on 870 D above).

[8] ἀπεστὼ (*cf.* 872 F) : ἀπο . . . E : ἀπόλειψιν B.
[9] ἐκχαράξαντας E : ἐγχαράξαντας B.
[10] Σωφάνης μὲν καὶ Ἀείμνηστος Wesseling (*cf.* Herodotus, x. 64 and 73) : Σωχάρης μὲν καὶ Δείπνιστος.
[11] ἠχθέσθησαν E : ἠδέσθησαν B.

(873) πόλεσιν ἀναθεὶς τὸν ἀγῶνα τὰς ἄλλας πάσας ἐκχαράττει τῶν τροπαίων καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν.

43. Τεσσάρων δ' ἀγώνων τότε πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους γενομένων, ἐκ μὲν Ἀρτεμισίου τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀποδρᾶναί φησιν, ἐν δὲ Θερμοπύλαις, τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ βασιλέως προκινδυνεύοντος,[1] οἰκουρεῖν καὶ ἀμελεῖν Ὀλύμπια καὶ Κάρνεια[2] πανηγυρίζοντας· τὰ δ' ἐν Σαλαμῖνι διηγούμενος τοσούτους περὶ Ἀρτεμισίας[3] λόγους γέγραφεν, ὅσοις ὅλην τὴν
F ναυμαχίαν οὐκ ἀπήγγελκε· τέλος δέ, καθημένους ἐν Πλαταιαῖς ἀγνοῆσαι μέχρι τέλους τὸν ἀγῶνα τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὥσπερ βατραχομαχίας[4] γινομένης, ἣν[5] Πίγρης ὁ Ἀρτεμισίας[6] ἐν ἔπεσι[7] παίζων καὶ φλυαρῶν ἔγραψε, σιωπῇ διαγωνίσασθαι συνθεμένων, ἵνα λάθωσι τοὺς ἄλλους· αὐτοὺς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους ἀνδρείᾳ[8] μὲν οὐδὲν κρείττονας γενέσθαι τῶν βαρβάρων, ἀνόπλοις[9] δὲ καὶ γυμνοῖς μαχομένους κρατῆσαι. Ξέρξου μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ παρόντος, ὑπὸ μαστίγων μόλις ὄπισθεν ὠθούμενοι προσεφέροντο
874 τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἐν δὲ Πλαταιαῖς, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἑτέρας

[1] προκινδυνεύοντος B : προσκινδυνεύοντος E.
[2] Κάρνεια B : ἀκάρνια E.
[3] Ἀρτεμισίας Basel edition : Ἀρτεμισίου B : Ἀρτεμεισίου E.
[4] βατραχομαχίας] βατραχομυομαχίας Stephanus and subsequent editions.
[5] ἣν added by Wyttenbach. Immisch would delete Πίγρης . . . ἔγραψε as gloss.
[6] Ἀρτεμισίας] Perhaps πολίτης should be added (suggested by Wyttenbach).
[7] ἐν ἔπεσι Basel edition : ἐνέπεσε B : ἐνέπαισε E.
[8] ἀνδρείᾳ Bernardakis : ἀνδρίᾳ.
[9] ἀνόπλοις] But *cf.* ἀόπλοις in 874 A.

dotus credits only three cities with taking part and strikes out the names of all the others from the trophies and the temples.

43. Thus, in the four battles that were fought with the barbarians at that time, he says that at Artemisium the Greeks ran away [a] and that at Thermopylae, while their king and commander faced death in the front line, they paid no attention but stayed at home celebrating the Olympic and Carneian festivals [b]; in his treatment of Salamis he has devoted more space to stories about Artemisia than to his entire account of the battle [c]; and finally at Plataea he says that the Greeks sat idle knowing nothing of the battle till the end, as though it was like the battle of frogs and mice which Artemisia's fellow citizen, Pigres, described in his silly mock epic,[d] and they had made an agreement to fight in silence so that the others would not know about it. As for the Spartans themselves, he says they were in no way superior to the barbarians in courage, but won because the enemy had no shields or body armour. It seems that when Xerxes himself was present the barbarians were pushed forward from behind with blows of the whip and could scarcely be made to face the Greeks,[e] but at Plataea they acquired a different spirit, " and in

[a] See above, 867 B—868 A.
[b] Not a fair account of vii. 206 (*cf.* viii. 72). Plutarch would hardly claim that a large Greek force fought at Thermopylae alongside the Spartans.
[c] For these stories see viii. 68-69, 87-88, 93, 101-103.
[d] For this poem see L.C.L. *Hesiod, The Homeric Hymns, and Homerica*, with comment in Introduction, p. xli. Alexander the Great is said to have called Antipater's battle with the Spartans a " battle of mice "—*i.e.* a trifling incident in comparison with his conquests in Asia (*Life of Agesilaüs*, chap. xv).
[e] *i.e.* at Thermopylae (vii. 223. 2).

(874) ψυχὰς μεταλαβόντες[1] " λήματι μὲν καὶ ῥώμῃ οὐκ ἧσσονες ἦσαν, ἡ δὲ ἐσθής, ἔρημος ἑοῦσα[2] ὅπλων, πλεῖστον ἐδηλήσατό σφεας· πρὸς γὰρ ὁπλίτας ἐόντες γυμνῆται[3] ἀγῶνα ἐποιέοντο."

Τί οὖν περίεστιν ἔνδοξον ἢ μέγα τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀπ' ἐκείνων τῶν ἀγώνων, εἰ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν ἀόπλοις ἐμάχοντο, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἡ μάχη παρόντας ἔλαθε, κενὰ δὲ πολυάνδρια τιμώμενα τοῖς ἑκάστου,[4] ψευστῶν[5] δὲ γραμμάτων μεστοὶ τρίποδες ἑστᾶσι καὶ βωμοὶ παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς, μόνος δὲ τἀληθὲς Ἡρόδοτος ἔγνω, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἅπαντας ἀνθρώ-
B πους, ὅσοι λόγον Ἑλλήνων ἔχουσιν, ἐξηπάτηκεν ἡ φήμη τῶν τότε κατορθωμάτων, ὡς ὑπερφυῶν γενομένων;

Τί δῆτα; γραφικὸς ἀνήρ,[6] καὶ ἡδὺς ὁ λόγος, καὶ χάρις ἔπεστι καὶ δεινότης καὶ ὥρα τοῖς διηγήμασι,

μῦθον δ' ὡς ὅτ' ἀοιδός, ἐπισταμένως

μὲν οὖ, λιγυρῶς δὲ καὶ γλαφυρῶς ἠγόρευκεν. ἀμέλει ταῦτα καὶ κηλεῖ καὶ προσάγεται πάντας, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν ῥόδοις δεῖ κανθαρίδα φυλάττεσθαι τὴν βλασφημίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ κακολογίαν,[7] λείοις καὶ ἁπαλοῖς
C σχήμασιν ὑποδεδυκυῖαν, ἵνα μὴ λάθωμεν ἀτόπους καὶ ψευδεῖς περὶ τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ μεγίστων τῆς Ἑλλάδος πόλεων καὶ ἀνδρῶν δόξας λαβόντες.

[1] μεταλαβόντες B : μεταβαλόντες E.
[2] ἑοῦσα Bernardakis : οὖσα.
[3] γυμνῆται] γυμνῆτες Bernardakis (as in Herodotus).
[4] τιμώμενα τοῖς ἑκάστου] τιμώμενα τοῖς ἑκασταχοῦ Reiske : τιμῶμεν ἑκάστου ἔτους Emperius : τιμῶμεν ἔτους ἑκάστου Bernardakis.
[5] ψευστῶν] ψευδῶν Basel edition.
[6] ἀνὴρ Bernardakis : ἀνήρ.
[7] κακολογίαν E : μικρολογίαν B : πικρολογίαν Salmasius.

courage and strength were equal," " but the lack of protective armour in their equipment did them great harm ; they were light-armed troops fighting with hoplites." [a]

Well, then, is there anything glorious or great left to the Greeks from these battles, if the Spartans fought with an unarmed enemy, and if the others were unaware that a battle was going on near by and the descendants of each man who was there pay honour to empty graves, and the tripods and altars that stand in the temples of the gods are filled with lying names, and only Herodotus knows the truth, while everybody else, everyone who has ever heard of the Greeks, has been deceived by the tradition which represents these events as magnificent achievements ?

We must admit that Herodotus is an artist, that his history makes good reading, that there is charm and skill and grace in his narrative, and that he has told his story " as a bard tells a tale," [b] I mean not " with knowledge and wisdom," but " with musical clear-flowing words." [c] To be sure, these writings charm and attract everyone, but we must be on our guard against his slanders and his ugly lies which, like the rose-beetle, lurk beneath a smooth and soft exterior ; we must not be tricked into accepting unworthy and false notions about the greatest and best cities and men of Greece.

[a] ix. 62. 3, 63. 2.
[b] Homer, *Odyssey*, xi. 368. Alcinoüs is telling Odysseus that he has both grace of speech and regard for truth—unlike most travellers.
[c] Thus Plutarch grants to Herodotus the virtues of a lying poet, but not those of an historian.

CAUSES OF NATURAL PHENOMENA

(QUAESTIONES NATURALES)

INTRODUCTION

Title

This work, no. 50 in the Planudean order, is often referred to by the Latin title *Quaestiones Naturales*. The manuscripts give it the name Αἰτίαι Φυσικαί, agreeing in this with the ancient catalogue (? 4th cent. A.D.) of works by, or ascribed to, Plutarch known as the Lamprias catalogue, in which it is no. 218. That catalogue lists also Αἰτίαι Ῥωμαϊκαί, Αἰτίαι Ἑλλήνων, Αἰτίαι βαρβαρικαί, Αἰτίαι ἀλλαγῶν, Αἰτίαι γυναικῶν, Αἰτίαι τῶν περιφερομένων Στωϊκῶν, Αἰτίαι τῶν Ἀράτου Διοσημείων. Of these only the first two survive, in manuscripts that provide them with no proper title. Since Bernardakis's edition it has been customary to name the three extant works Αἴτια Ῥωμαϊκά, Αἴτια Ἑλληνικά, Αἴτια Φυσικά, invoking analogy, including that with Callimachus's famous poem, and the fact that Plutarch himself, referring to the first, uses the words ἐν τοῖς Αἰτίοις (*Romulus*, chap. 15). *Quaestiones Naturales*, however, are never cited by him ; there is, therefore, nothing to show what he called it, and it seems better to retain a name known to have been used by his Greek-speaking readers than to invent one by conjecture. Nor is there anything intrinsically objectionable in the name Αἰτίαι Φυσικαί ; although most of the questions are introduced by the phrase

διὰ τί;, no. xx begins διὰ τίν' αἰτίαν; and nos. xxix and xl τίς ἡ αἰτία;

Nature and Sources

The form of the work (identical with that of *Quaestiones Romanae* and the latter part of *Quaestiones Graecae*), by which a series of questions is answered, not dogmatically, but by suggestions (often alternative suggestions) put interrogatively, is that of the *Problems* that go under Aristotle's name and include much matter from the lost authentic book of that title. Many of the questions propounded had been discussed by Aristotle or Theophrastus; the terminology used in the proffered solutions largely coincides with that employed, but not necessarily invented, by the Peripatetics; and the facts and theories adduced can often be paralleled in Peripatetic literature. But although Plutarch was thus writing in the Peripatetic tradition, it would be hasty to suppose that he did no more than pillage some Peripatetic collection of problems. Such solutions, indeed, as are explicitly ascribed by him to Aristotle or Theophrastus are either openly rejected or followed by a more attractive alternative (nos. ii, xii, xiii, xix).

Before speculating on the way in which the book was put together, it will be profitable to consider what sort of a book it is. Unlike Seneca's *Naturales Quaestiones*, it is not a literary work. Admittedly it exhibits certain features of style that had become second nature to Plutarch—the use of coupled synonyms, a tendency to seek or avoid certain rhythms at sentence-endings, the avoidance of hiatus. But just as striking, in comparison with his normal literary style, are the

shortness and simplicity of the sentences and the monotony of the vocabulary: the expression of thought is sometimes careless and not so much concise as obscure.

These characteristics are most readily explained by supposing *Quaestiones Naturales* to be a collection of notes, intended perhaps to provide material that could be incorporated into literary works, perhaps even for circulation among interested friends, but not for a general public. Similar conclusions have been reached by H. J. Rose about the *Roman Questions* (pp. 46 ff. of his edition, Oxford, 1928) and by W. R. Halliday about the *Greek Questions* (p. 13 of his edition, Oxford, 1924). Notes of this sort can arise from summarizing and abstracting from a single book, but they may be drawn from diverse sources, and include suggestions and criticisms made by the note-taker himself. Any contention that Plutarch took all his questions from a single source (*cf.* H. Diels, *Hermes*, xl (1905), pp. 312 ff.), does not admit of profitable discussion. If the questions referred to Aristotle, Theophrastus, and the unknown Laetus implied first-hand consultation of those authors, the contention would be untenable; but there is no better reason for asserting than for denying that Plutarch went directly to them. There is, however, firmer ground for supposing that the answers include contributions of Plutarch's own. Rose (*op. cit.* p. 49), following F. Leo, *De Plutarchi Quaestionum Romanarum auctoribus* (1864), argues that those answers in *Roman Questions* that begin with the phrase σκόπει δὲ μή are Plutarch's original suggestions. The same or almost the same formula occurs in our work in Questions ii, xii, and xix. Further evidence that the answer thus intro-

duced in Question xii is Plutarch's own contribution may be found in its use of paired words or phrases that are almost synonymous : ἐξωθεῖ καὶ διαστέλλει, ἀνατρεχούσης εἰς ἑαυτὴν καὶ συστελλομένης, διαύγειαν καὶ καταφάνειαν. This trick of composition, characteristic of Plutarch's style, is not distributed evenly over the whole book, but is confined to a limited number of answers, and it seems possible that it may provide a clue by which some at least of his contributions may be identified. The passages are to be found in nos. ii, vi, x, xiii, xvi, xix, xxi, xxiii, xxiv, and xxvi. The hypothesis that passages marked by these semi-synonymous pairs, many of which are drawn from a richer vocabulary than that of the bulk of the work, may be original, implies no claim of absolute priority for Plutarch, but only that he was not here abbreviating or copying a text before him, but drawing on the resources of his well-stocked mind and memory.

Question xix deserves separate treatment, since the elaborate answer needs some clarification, which will suggest that its construction is due to Plutarch. The problem is why the octopus changes its colour. Theophrastus, following Aristotle, *De Part. Animal.* 679 a 13, had put this down to cowardice (frags. 173, 188 Wimmer, from Περὶ τῶν μεταβαλλόντων τὰς χροάς). Plutarch thinks this insufficient, since the colour is assimilated to the background : to illustrate the fact he quotes from Pindar and Theognis. These quotations must have been taken, as is shown by A. Peretti, *Teognide* (1953), pp. 42 ff., from a source where they were already combined. Plutarch uses both in *De Sollertia Animalium*, 978 E, where he explains the octopus's change of colour as deliberate, to avoid enemies and to deceive its prey. That view is im-

plicit in the next sentence, which gives an explanation of the poets' meaning, an explanation irrelevant to the physical problem (here note the pairs πανουργίᾳ καὶ δεινότητι, λαθεῖν καὶ διαφυγεῖν). Next with the words σκόπει δή he promises an alternative to Theophrastus's view, an alternative which proves to be quite inconsistent with the view that the change is deliberate. It depends on a theory of universal emanations, which is supported by a quotation from Empedocles, by the facts of decay and scent, and by a reference to speculations on the cause of magnetism. Brief though it is, this reference contains barely intelligible and certainly irrelevant detail ; Plutarch would seem to be summarizing some account of the emanation-theory that had no original connexion with the problem of the octopus. To this problem he at last returns in a full style, using several pairs of synonyms, μέρη καὶ θρύπτματα, ἀνθρηνώδης καὶ πολύπορος, ἔσφιγξε καὶ συνήγαγεν, ἀθροιζομένοις καὶ προσμένουσι. His solution given, he concludes by implying that the same explanation will apply to the chamaeleon, doubtless remembering Theophrastus's belief that it, like the octopus, changed colour through cowardice (frag. 189 Wimmer). The theory of emanations to account for the octopus's change of colour is adopted again in *De Amicorum Multitudine*, 96 F, where the passage of Theognis is quoted, but from memory and incorrectly [a] : hence one may establish a probable sequence of composition, namely, *De Sollertia Animalium*, *Quaestiones Naturales*, xix, *De Amicorum Multitudine*.

On the other hand it is clear that some of the solu-

[a] But see F. R. Adrados, *Emerita*, xxvi (1958), pp. 1 ff. for another view.

tions offered are derived from earlier writers. This is obvious where the name of an authority is given. But the first solution to Question xxi, for which no authority is quoted, is to be found in the Aristotelian *Problemata*, and if fortune had preserved all the books to which Plutarch had access, it would probably be possible to identify the origins of many other solutions. As things are, we can say no more than that *Quaestiones Naturales* seem to be a compound, in unknown proportions, of traditional and newly-adduced solutions.

Another problem that hardly admits of an answer is the relation of the *Quaestiones Naturales* to the *Symposiac Questions*, with which they have many coincidences. *A priori* it might be guessed that the former provided raw material that was worked up into a literary form in the latter. But *Symposiacs*, 700 F implies that no one had yet offered an answer to Question xx, which may therefore have been composed subsequently. The facts in general do not seem to exclude the possibility that material found for the *Symposiacs* was used in composing the *Quaestiones Naturales* and vice versa. At least it will probably be right to regard them as contemporaneous.

Scientific Vocabulary

A few recurrent words need explanation. Plutarch frequently employs the conception of *concoction* (πέψις, πέττειν), which Aristotle had adopted from medical authors.[a] He uses it to mean that process by which

[a] A convenient account of the Aristotelian uses of this and other terms employed by Plutarch will be found in A. L. Peck's edition in L.C.L. of Aristotle, *De Generatione Animalium*, introd. pp. xxxviii ff.

the natural heat of a plant or animal converts its nourishment into an assimilable substance. But external heat may initiate the same process (913 A), and it may also be recognized in the ripening of fruit and perhaps in the change by which grape-juice becomes wine (918 E). The process of concoction may not convert the whole of the original substance to an assimilable product, but leave a *residue* (περίττωμα). This may in Aristotle's system undergo a further concoction that fits it for another purpose. Residues are of very varied nature, but the only kind mentioned by Plutarch here is the "generative residue" (917 B, 919 C), which is not assimilated to the organism but goes to produce its offspring.

The word κρᾶσις occurs several times. At 919 D it may have its literal meaning of *mixture*. At 913 A, used of the air, it is best translated "temperature"; but whereas we do not normally remember that by etymology "temperature" means "blending," and regard a temperature as a point on a scale, the word κρᾶσις implies a blending in certain proportions of absolute heat with absolute cold. Similarly when at 915 E it is used of the soil, and at 918 D f. of animal bodies, the word connotes the proportions in which the primary qualities, hot, cold, wet, and dry, are blended in the object. It may then perhaps be called the "constitution" of the soil or of the body. This constitution is variable in animals, not being the same in sickness as in health. The current ideas of κρᾶσις are exhaustively explained and adapted by Galen in his three books *De Temperamentis* (Kühn i, pp. 509 ff.).

The Greek language would enable one to distinguish between, *e.g.*, τὸ γλυκύ, "a substance characterized by sweetness," and γλυκύτης, "the quality

of sweetness." For the most part Plutarch observes this distinction, but occasionally the adjectival phrase seems to indicate a quality or the noun a substance. This is because he tends to think of a quality as specifically linked to a substance. Thus *De Primo Frigido* starts from the basis that fire is the substance of " the hot," and that nothing has the quality of being hot without containing fire ; he then proceeds to inquire what is the substance of " the cold." The distinction between quality and substance thus becomes unimportant. This way of thought underlies the treatment of the χυμοί (Question v), " flavourings " rather than " flavours," since they are liquids possessed of specific tastes. Among these flavourings are the oily, the sweet, and the bitter ; when therefore we read that the sea has oiliness (911 E), and that its bitterness is not devoid of sweetness (914 C), we must understand it to contain oily liquid, bitter liquid, and sweet liquid : the last, we are told, is lighter, rises to the surface, and is evaporated by the heat of the sun. Similarly it would appear that the " sweetness " of rain-water is a separable constituent, though doubtless far the largest, which can be caused to leave it and enter into a plant (912 C).

The motive force that acts thus on the rain-water is called πνεῦμα, breath or wind. Speaking physically, this is nothing but air in motion. We are familiar with the fact that moving air produces effects that are not produced by still air. The Greeks were ready to ascribe to it a power to produce change of many sorts, at the same time allowing it to retain its motion indefinitely. Thus rain water contains not just air, as we might say, but air in motion ; and a living being contains air in motion that performs some of the

functions that our physiology gives to the nervous system and to hormones (916 B, note : in such a passage the translator can only have recourse to transliterating the word as *pneuma*).

Δύναμις is a word for which no single translation will serve. Sometimes it retains a material connotation, " substance of a distinctive character," *e.g.* in xxxii, where it appears in Latin dress as *facultas*. But sometimes the sense is more abstract, the idea of " distinctive character " being to the fore, as at 914 D. At the same time both substance and character are thought of as being active and capable of causing change, as at 918 B and 919 A.

On several occasions Plutarch uses the word πόροι, " passages." Besides the visible passages in an animal body it was supposed that there were others, too small to be seen, by which food might be assimilated ; in a plant similar passages provide the means of taking up water (919 D). When they occur in the skin of an octopus or other animal (916 E), πόροι are more naturally translated as " pores " than as " passages " : but the latter word fits other contexts, including 915 A, where they are assumed to exist in the sea, allowing sight to penetrate it.

It is an error to suppose that because a word needs explanation it is a " technical " term. The words just discussed are all common Greek words, and no ancient reader would have felt that they were used in an unusual or special way. To make a single English word do duty for each of them is only possible by the introduction of strange locutions or by assigning an arbitrary meaning to familiar words : where some sacrifice must be made, consistency is more expendable than naturalness.

The Additional Questions

In 1542 Gybertus Longolius (Gilbert or Gisbert Longeuil, born about 1507 at Utrecht, died 1543, scholar, teacher, and doctor) published his Latin translation of several works by Plutarch, including *Quaestiones Naturales*. The first 31 questions were, according to his own marginal note, translated from the Aldine edition: the other eight "ex Mediolanensi sunt exemplari." By this he must mean a manuscript at Milan, which neither Xylander nor any later scholar has been able to trace. But the eight additional questions have the stamp of authenticity, and there is no reason for doubting Longolius, who is known to have spent some time in Italy, studying medicine. Whether the manuscript contained only these eight questions or also some or all of the first 31 must be uncertain. It is clear, however, that Longolius did not use it to supply the deficiencies of the Aldine.

It cannot be expected that his translation gives an accurate rendering of the new questions, any more than it does of the old. As an example of his methods, at 912 A he turns ἐστί by "nemo negare potest," but ἀναυξῆ καὶ ἀβλαστῆ μένει by "squallere" (*sic*). He will expand to make the meaning clear, *e.g.* at 912 B δι' ὃ πομφόλυγας ποιεῖ τῇ ἀναμίξει τοῦ ἀέρος becomes "quod uero aere plena sit, indicant bullae quae ex illius commixtione, cum decidit, creantur"; and of the fragmentary words that introduce Question xxx, viz. διὰ τί τῶν ἀμπέλων τὰς ἀκάρπους . . . μωσι . . . νευτο . . . αστραγαν . . . μεν, his imagination constructed "quare uites, cum nimia ubertate lasciuiunt, et minus feraces sunt et aliquando exarescunt? cuius rei causam quidam in syderationis morbum referunt."

Remains of two further questions have recently been recognized by L. G. Westerink in his edition (1948) of Michael Psellus, *De Omnifaria Doctrina* (p. 3). Although in its later redactions this miscellany was arranged according to its subject-matter, in its original form it was ordered according to its (unacknowledged) sources. Thus paragraphs 108-121 of the original version are from Proclus and Porphyry, 122-130 from Ps.-Plutarch, *Placita*, 131-137 from Plutarch, *Symposiac Questions*. Paragraphs 92-107 are from Plutarch, *Quaestiones Naturales*, with the exception of 101 and 106. The fact that these two paragraphs, like several of the *Quaestiones Naturales*, contain matter that can be paralleled in the *Symposiacs* increases the likelihood that they are based on sections of the *Quaestiones Naturales* that have since been lost. They have therefore been appended to this edition as Questions xl and xli.[a] It was Psellus's

[a] The table below shows the relation of Plutarch and Psellus:

Plutarch, *Quaest. Nat.*	Psellus, *De Omnifaria Doctrina*		
	Original Redaction	Ed. Westerink	Ed. Migne
i	92	168	132
ii	93	172	136
iii	97	180	144
iv	94	173	137
v	96	179	143
xii	95	169	133
xiv	100	183	147
xv and xvi	104	186	150
xviii	103	185	149
xix	98	181	145
xx	107	189	153
xxii	99	182	146
xxviii	102	184	148
xxxi	105	187	151
xl	101	170	134
xli	106	188	152

habit either to adhere closely, even while abbreviating, to the phrasing of his original, or to rewrite completely. Since in both these questions, with the exception of the last sentence of xl, the phraseology has a Plutarchean ring, we shall probably be right in recognizing the presence of much of Plutarch's own wording. But Psellus was accustomed to omit what he found unnecessary or unintelligible, and would change the order of words at sentence-ends to obtain an accentual rhythm.

Text

In constituting the text of *Quaestiones Naturales* we depend primarily on three manuscripts, viz. :

Urbinas 97 (U), x/xi cent.
Palatinus Heidelbergensis 283 (H), xi/xii cent.
Ambrosianus 859 (α), written in A.D. 1295 for Maximus Planudes.

Ten other manuscripts are descendants of α and belong to the so-called Planudean tradition. They sometimes offer good readings, but these appear to be due to conjecture. Further evidence may be sought in the extracts incorporated by Psellus in his collection *De Omnifaria Doctrina*, the original form of which may be dated about A.D. 1050.

U and H offer almost identical texts, but H has lost an unknown number of leaves and now stops with the words *νοσεῖ γάρ* in 912 E. U itself continues only to the end of Question ix, which coincides with the last line of its last gathering ($\lambda\epsilon'$). Probably it once contained more questions, for it appears to have lost at least one gathering after $\lambda\epsilon'$, as well as α' and the first six folios of β'. It has been altered by two

hands (U^2, U^3). So far as *Quaestiones Naturales* is concerned the resulting text is, except for one or two trifles, identical with that of α. Wegehaupt, *Berliner Sitzb.* 1909, p. 1042, claimed that α copied the corrected U for nos. 44 to 50 of the Planudean recension. Pohlenz, however, adduces evidence (Preface to vol. III of the Teubner edition, p. xix) to show that α does not incorporate all the corrections of U^3, which he considers on palaeographical grounds also to be later than α. The view that involves the minimum of hypothesis is that α derives from U as corrected by U^2, with some further modifications, and that U^3 used α or some other Planudean in making his corrections (*cf.* B. Einarson and P. De Lacy, *Classical Philology*, liii (1958), p. 223). There seems to be no reason for regarding the corrections of U^2 and (α)U^3 as anything but conjectural. This is clearly true of *τῆς θαλάσσης ὕδωρ* for *βλάπτον* at 911 D. Confident common sense was all that was needed for such a change. But no more was needed to complete a mutilated sentence at 911 E with *μὴ ἐμβάλλειν θαλάσσιον ὕδωρ*—the corrector spells *-σσ-*, whereas the tradition normally has *-ττ-*. These observations suggest that we may also credit him with adding *οὐ γάρ* and *ἤδη καὶ τὰ ἐν χέρσῳ φυτά τε καὶ δένδρα τρέφει· οὐδὲ γάρ* at 911 D. He may betray himself by consecutive *τε καί*, which is unusual in Plutarch, and by leaving the *οὔτε* which follows the insertion without any correlative. It was left to Doehner to repair his omission by correcting *οὐδὲ γάρ* to *οὔτε γάρ*. α, effectively the sole authority for the greater part of the work, belongs then to the same tradition as UH, but the text has undergone scholarly modification, which may have had no manuscript basis. It seems that the last page of its ex-

emplar was partially illegible, probably having been damaged after the loss of subsequent leaves containing further questions. Planudes succeeded in deciphering more than his copyist and added to α a few more letters in his own hand both here and at an earlier place (916 D-E) where difficulty had been experienced.

The manuscript used by Psellus seems to have been closely related to the three described above. Indeed, if he may be credited with four easy corrections, there is no evidence incompatible with his having used U while still complete. It should be remarked that since Westerink has established the original text of *De Omnifaria Doctrina*, readings found only in manuscripts of later redactions can in any case be disregarded by editors of Plutarch.

In my apparatus a reading given without any siglum is that of α and of UH so far as they exist. I have myself collated U and α: discrepancies between my apparatus and that of the Teubner edition mostly concern the readings of U. For the other Planudean manuscripts I rely on the Teubner edition, checked only for Vaticanus 139, where I found few oversights. A collation of H was published by R. Egelnoff, *Philologus*, lx (1901), p. 439: his report agrees, apart from trifles, with that of the Teubner edition. I use "later MS." to mean any MS. later than UHα, and "late MS." to mean a MS. of the late xiv or xv century, when conjecture was not infrequent.

The text of *Quaestiones Naturales* has received less attention from critics than that of most of the *Moralia*, a fact that explains the number of new suggestions made here, particularly in those questions for which α is the only authority. By "Anon. 1 (Turnebus)," "Anon. 2 (Turnebus)," "Anon. 3 (Turnebus)" I indicate the three hands (small, medium, and large) that entered corrections in the margins of the Aldine edition bequeathed by Adrian Turnebus to Étienne Turnèbe and now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Rés. J. 94). By "Anon. (Amyot)" I indicate corrections in the margin of the Basel edition used by Amyot, also in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Rés. J. 103). But where such corrections are accompanied by *forte*, *puto*, or some such phrase they seem to be Amyot's own, and I have ascribed them to him without qualification.

In the translation ⟨. . .⟩ indicates that the words enclosed are either a version of a conjectural supplement in the Greek text or added in order to bring out what I suppose to be the meaning of a phrase that is brief or obscure in the original.

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A

Διὰ τί τὸ θαλάττιον ὕδωρ οὐ τρέφει τὰ δένδρα;

Πότερον δι' ἣν αἰτίαν οὐδὲ τῶν ζῴων τὰ χερσαῖα; ζῷον γὰρ ἔγγαιον τὸ φυτὸν εἶναι[1] οἱ περὶ Πλάτωνα
D καὶ Ἀναξαγόραν καὶ Δημόκριτον οἴονται· οὐ γὰρ[2] διότι τοῖς ἐναλίοις φυτοῖς τρόφιμόν ἐστι καὶ πότιμον ὥσπερ τοῖς ἰχθύσιν, ἤδη καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ χέρσῳ φυτά τε καὶ δένδρα τρέφει· οὔτε γὰρ[2] ἐνδύεται ταῖς ῥίζαις ὑπὸ πάχους οὔτ' ἀναφέρεται[3] ὑπὸ βάρους[4]· ὅτι δ' ἐμβριθές ἐστι καὶ γεῶδες, ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς ἀποδείκνυται καὶ τῷ μᾶλλον ἀνέχειν καὶ ὑπερείδειν τὰ πλοῖα καὶ τοὺς κολυμβῶντας.

Ἢ μάλιστα μὲν βλάπτεται ξηρότητι τὰ δένδρα, ξηραντικὸν δὲ τὸ θαλάττιον;[5] ὅθεν πρός τε[6] τὰς σήψεις οἱ ἅλες βοηθοῦσι, καὶ τὰ σώματα τῶν λου-

[1] εἶναι U^2a: ἐστὶν U^1H ? ἐστίν, ὡς, *cf.* Castiglioni, *Gnomon*, xxix (1957), p. 334.

[2] οὐ γὰρ and ἤδη . . . οὐδὲ γὰρ U^2a: om. U^1H, see introd. p. 145. Doehner changed οὐδὲ to οὔτε.

[3] After ἀναφέρεται Psellus adds ταχέως εἰς τὸ στέλεχος καὶ τοὺς ἀκρέμονας.

[4] βάρους Bernardakis: πάχους U^1 τοῦ πάχους U^2 τοῦ βάρους aU^3.

[5] θαλάττιον Bernardakis: βλάπτον U^1H τῆς θαλάσσης ὕδωρ U^2a.

[6] τε F. H. S.: γε.

I

Why does sea-water not provide trees with nourishment?

Is the reason the same as that for which it provides none for land-animals either, seeing that Plato,[a] Anaxagoras, and Democritus [b] think that a plant is an animal fixed in the earth? The fact that sea-water is nutritious for, and can be imbibed by, marine plants as well as fishes, does not immediately imply that it is also good for the plants and trees that grow on dry land. For one thing it is too thick to make its way into their roots, and for another it is too heavy to rise ⟨up their stems⟩.[c] There are many proofs that it is heavy and earthy, in particular the fact that it holds up and supports boats and swimmers more than fresh water does.[d]

Or is it that trees are damaged above all by dryness, and sea-water has a drying effect? (This effect explains why salt is a safeguard against putrefaction,

[a] *Republic*, 491 D, 564 A, *Timaeus*, 90 A (*cf. Epinomis*, 981 D), all passages that imply rather than state this opinion.

[b] Diels-Kranz, *Frag. der Vorsok.* i, p. 297 (Ps.-Aristotle, *De Plantis*, 815 b 16): Anaxagoras and Democritus said that plants have mind and intelligence.

[c] Psellus has, "rise quickly into the stem and twigs," but he may as well have invented this as found it in his text of Plutarch.

[d] *Cf. Quaest. Conviv.* 627 B.

(911) σαμένων ἐν θαλάττῃ ξηρὰν εὐθὺς ἴσχει καὶ τραχεῖαν τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν.

E Ἢ τὸ μὲν ἔλαιον τοῖς φυτοῖς πολέμιον καὶ φθείρει τὰ[1] προσαλειφόμενα, μετέχει δὲ πολλῆς ἡ θάλαττα λιπαρότητος· διὸ συνεξάπτει, καὶ παραινοῦμεν εἰς τὰς φλόγας μὴ ἐμβάλλειν θαλάσσιον ὕδωρ.[2]

Ἢ γέγονεν ἄποτον καὶ πικρὸν τὸ ὕδωρ, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης φησίν, ἀναμίξει κατακεκαυμένης γῆς; καὶ γὰρ ἡ κονία γίνεται γλυκέος ὕδατος εἰς τέφραν ἐμπεσόντος, ἡ δὲ διάκαυσις[3] ἐξίστησι καὶ φθείρει τὸ χρηστὸν καὶ πότιμον, ὡς ἐν ἡμῖν οἱ πυρετοὶ τὸ ὑγρὸν εἰς χολὴν τρέπουσιν. ἃ δ' ἱστοροῦσιν ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσσῃ βλαστάνειν ὑλήματα καὶ φυτά, καρπὸν μὲν οὐδένα φέρει τρέφεται δὲ τοῖς ποταμοῖς

[1] φθείρει τὰ U²a : φθείρεται U¹H.
[2] μὴ ἐμβάλλειν θαλάσσιον ὕδωρ U²a : om. U¹H.
[3] διάκαυσις Kronenberg : διά * λυσις U¹ (? διάγλυσις, as H). διάλυσις U²a.

[a] From *Quaest. Conviv.* 627 D we learn that this was remarked by Aristotle (*cf. Problemata*, 932 b 25), who seems to have thought that salt water evaporated more quickly than fresh, having a natural heat. Plutarch there denies that salt water evaporates as such, pointing out that the salt remains behind as a deposit, making the skin rough. Here, however, the mention of roughness of the skin, unless due to an association of ideas caused by the writing of the other passage, must arise from the thought that roughness implies dryness.

[b] *Cf.* Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* iv. 16. 5, *De Causis Plant.* v. 15. 6.

[c] *Quaest. Conviv.* 627 C shows this to be taken from Aristotle (*cf. Problemata*, 932 b 5, 933 a 19, 935 a 7).

[d] Dio Cassius, l. 34, says that at the battle of Actium Antony's sailors were unable, for this reason, to extinguish the incendiary missiles used by Octavian's fleet.

and why the bodies of those who have bathed in the sea at once acquire a dry, rough surface.)[a]

Or is it that oil is hurtful to plants and destroys any that are smeared with it,[b] while the sea has a large fatty content?[c] That is why the sea helps fire to take hold, and we warn people against throwing sea-water on flames.[d]

Or that sea-water has, as Aristotle says, become undrinkable and bitter by an admixture of burnt earth?[e] For lye is produced when fresh water is thrown on ashes: and good drinking water is changed and spoiled by burning heat, just as in our bodies fevers turn moisture into bile.[f] As for the bushes and plants that are reported to grow in the Indian Ocean, they bear no fruit[g] and their nourishment comes

[e] *Meteorologica*, 358 a 14 ff. He there says, however, that it is an over-simplification to ascribe the saltiness of the sea to burnt earth, as certain persons had done (*cf.* Diels-Kranz, *Frag. der Vorsok.* i. 31 A 66). His own view is that all processes of growth and change of substance give rise to residues, in living things salty, in inanimate ashy. Such residues from the so-called "dry exhalations" from the land, mingling with the wet exhalations from water condensed into rain, give rain an earthy salty content. The sea gets its salt from this rain, but does not become progressively more salty because salt water is evaporated from it in equal measure. This salt evaporation then condenses as fresh water.

[f] *Cf.* Galen, *De Simpl. Medic.* iv. 3 (Kühn xi, p. 630) for the comparison between sea and lye (a solution of alkaline salts, which can be leached out of wood ash). The train of thought in the second clause is not clear; does Plutarch assume that burnt earth is burning earth?

[g] *Cf.* Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xiii. 135, 139 (*cf.* ii. 226), where it is said that they *do* carry berries. Travellers' tales, both of mangroves and of seaweed, seem to lie behind these reports. "Indian Ocean": literally "Red Sea," a term which covered the known waters along the south of Asia, including the Persian Gulf.

(911) πολλὴν ἐμβάλλουσιν ἰλύν· ὅθεν οὐ πρόσω τῆς γῆς
F ἀλλὰ πλησίον ἔχει τὴν γένεσιν.

B

Διὰ τί μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν ὑετίων ἢ τῶν ἐπιρρύτων ὑδάτων τὰ δένδρα καὶ τὰ σπέρματα πέφυκε τρέφεσθαι;

Πότερον, ὡς Λαῖτος[1] ἔλεγε, τῇ πληγῇ τὰ ὄμβρια διιστάντα τὴν γῆν πόρους ποιεῖ καὶ διαδύεται μᾶλλον εἰς τὴν ῥίζαν;

Ἢ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἀληθές, ἀλλ' ἔλαθε τὸν Λαῖτον
912 ὅτι καὶ τὰ λιμναῖα φυτά, τύφη[2] καὶ φλέως[3] καὶ θρύον, ἀναυξῆ καὶ ἀβλαστῆ μένει μὴ γενομένων ὄμβρων καθ' ὥραν· τὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους ἀληθές, ὅτι πρόσφατόν ἐστι καὶ νέον ὕδωρ τὸ ὑόμενον ἕωλον δὲ καὶ παλαιὸν τὸ λιμναῖον; ἢ καὶ τοῦτο πιθανὸν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀληθές ἐστι; τὰ γὰρ πηγαῖα καὶ ποτάμια νάματα πρόσφατα μέν ἐστι καὶ νεογενῆ (ποταμοῖς γὰρ δὶς τοῖς αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἂν ἐμβαίης, ὥς φησιν Ἡράκλειτος, ἕτερα γὰρ ἐπιρρεῖ ὕδατα), τρέφει δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τῶν ὀμβρίων χεῖρον.

Ἆρ' οὖν κοῦφόν ἐστι τὸ ἐκ Διὸς ὕδωρ καὶ

[1] Λαῖτος one late MS. : λάιτος (as below).
[2] τύφη late MSS. : τίφη.
[3] φλέως a (probably) : φλεὼς U[2] : φλέω U[1]H. φλέων later MSS.

[a] For this meaning of σπέρματα *cf.* Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* viii. 8. 2, and 913 A below.
[b] Cannot be identified with any known person of this name.

from the rivers, which deposit much silt; hence they do not grow far from the land but close inshore.

II

Why is it the nature of trees and seedlings [a] to get more nourishment from rain-water than from irrigation?

Is it, as Laetus [b] said, that rain parts the earth by its impact and makes passages in it and so penetrates more to the roots?

Or is this not the true reason, Laetus having failed to observe that even the plants that grow in marshes or pools, reed-mace and wool-tufted reed and rushes, remain without growth or shoot unless rains occur at the right season? Is it Aristotle's reason that is the true one,[c] namely that the water that comes down as rain is fresh and new, while that of a marsh or pool is old and stale? Or is this also plausible rather than true? The running waters of springs and rivers are fresh and new-born—you could not step into the same rivers twice, as Heraclitus says,[d] because the waters that flow upon you are not the same—yet they, too, are less nourishing than rain-water.

Is the real reason that water from the heavens is

[c] Frag. 215 Rose.
[d] Diels-Kranz, *Frag. der Vorsok.* i. 22 B 12, 49 a, 91. G. S. Kirk, *Heraclitus, the Cosmic Fragments* (1954), pp. 366 ff., concludes that the original form of the saying was ποταμοῖσι τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι ἐμβαίνουσι ἕτερα καὶ ἕτερα ὕδατα ἐπιρρεῖ, "ever different waters flow on to those who step into the same rivers" (which explains the awkward plural ποταμοῖς here), and that Plutarch's formulation is affected by Plato, *Cratylus*, 402 A. But see Guthrie, *Hist. Gk. Phil.* i, p. 488.

(912) ἀερῶδες, καὶ πνεύματι μεμιγμένον ὁδηγεῖται[1] καὶ
B ἀναπέμπεται ταχέως εἰς τὸ φυτὸν ὑπὸ λεπτότητος,
δι' ὃ καὶ πομφόλυγας ποιεῖ τῇ ἀναμίξει τοῦ ἀέρος;
Ἢ τρέφει μὲν μάλιστα τὸ μάλιστα[2] κρατούμενον
ὑπὸ τοῦ τρεφομένου (τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι πέψις[3]· ἀπεψία
δὲ τοὐναντίον, ὅταν ἰσχυρότερα τοῦ παθεῖν ᾖ),[4] καὶ
μεταβάλλει[5] τὰ λεπτὰ καὶ ἁπλᾶ καὶ ἄχυμα μᾶλλον,
οἷόν ἐστι τὸ ὄμβριον ὕδωρ; γεννώμενον γὰρ ἐν
ἀέρι καὶ πνεύματι καθαρὸν καὶ ἀμιγὲς κάτεισι· τὰ
δὲ πηγαῖα καὶ τῇ γῇ[6] καὶ[7] τοῖς τόποις ὁμοιούμενα,
δι' ὧν ἔξεισι, πολλῶν ἀναπίμπλαται ποιοτήτων, δι'
ἃς ἧττόν ἐστιν εὔτρεπτα[8] καὶ βράδιον αὐτὰ[9] παρέχει
τῇ πέψει μεταβάλλειν[10] εἰς τὸ τρεφόμενον. τῶν δ'
C ὀμβρίων τὸ εὔτρεπτον αἱ σήψεις κατηγοροῦσιν·
εὐσηπτότερα γάρ ἐστι τῶν ποταμίων καὶ φρεατι-
αίων, ἡ δὲ πέψις ἔοικεν εἶναι σῆψις, ὡς Ἐμπεδο-

[1] ὁδηγεῖται Psellus : ὁδηγεῖ τε.
[2] τὸ μάλιστα added by Hubert.
[3] πέψις U²a : πλῆξις U¹H.
[4] ᾖ aU³ : om. U¹H.
[5] μεταβάλλει aU³ : μεταβάλλον U¹H.
[6] τῇ γῇ aU³ : τῇ γονῇ U¹H Psellus.
[7] καὶ aU³ Psellus : om. U¹H.
[8] εὔτρεπτα U²a : εὔθρεπτα U¹.
[9] αὐτὰ] all recorded MSS. have αὐτά.
[10] μεταβάλλειν later MSS. : μεταβάλλον.

[a] For the lightness of rain-water *cf.* Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxi. 31 ff., [Aristotle], *Problemata Inedita*, ii. 22 Bussemaker (Didot edition, vol. iv) ; Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 8. "Tenuity" implies both thinness of consistency (contrast the thickness of sea-water which hinders its assimilation by plants, 911 D above) and fineness of division. For *pneuma* see introd. p. 140.

[b] *Cf. Quaest. Conviv.* 661 B.

[c] The view that simple substances are most digestible is maintained by a speaker at *Quaest. Conviv.* 661 B-E (*cf.*

light and airy, and being mixed with wind (*pneuma*) is quickly directed and transmitted up into the plant, on account of its tenuity ? [a] That is also why it makes bubbles, due to the admixture of air.

Or is the most nourishment provided by what is most completely mastered by the thing nourished [b] —this is what we mean by concoction, non-concoction being the opposite, when the food is too strong to be acted upon—while thin, simple, and flavourless substances, such as rain-water, are more subject to change ? [c] Rain, being formed in the air and wind, descends pure and uncontaminated. But spring-waters are assimilated both to the earth through which they have passed and to the localities where they emerge.[d] Thus they become infected with many qualities which make them less convertible and slower to submit themselves to change by concoction into the thing they nourish. The ease with which rain-water, on the other hand, can be converted is indicated by its putrefaction : it is more ready to putrefy than the water of rivers and wells,[e] and concoction would seem to be putrefaction, as Empedocles'

[Aristotle], *Problemata*, 861 a 6), the contrary at 663 B and 725 C-D. For "concoction" see introd. p. 138.

[d] It is possible that Plutarch thinks that not only the earth but also the air at the point of exit of a spring affects the quality of the water ; *cf.* Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* iii. 21. 2 : "locus atque aer aquas inficit similesque regionibus reddit per quas et ex quibus veniunt." But Michael Glycas, *Annales*, p. 31 Bekker, says that waters have the qualities of the earth ἀφ' ἧς διέρχονταί τε καὶ ἀνέρχονται.

[e] For this view *cf.* Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxi. 34 ; Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 8 (but on the ground that rain-water is of mixed origin). On the other hand an anonymous speaker in Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* 725 D says that standing waters are more subject to putrefaction, because impure and mixed with earth.

(912) κλῆς μαρτυρεῖ λέγων

οἶνος ἀπὸ φλοιοῦ πέλεται σαπὲν ἐν ξύλῳ ὕδωρ.

Ἢ πάντων ἑτοιμότατόν ἐστι καὶ ῥᾷστον αἰτιάσασθαι τὸ γλυκὺ τῶν ὀμβρίων καὶ χρηστόν, εἰσπεμπόμενον[1] εὐθὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος; διὸ καὶ τὰ θρέμματα τούτων[2] ἀπολαύει προθυμότερον, καὶ οἱ βάτραχοι προσδοκῶντες ὄμβρον ἐπιλαμπρύνουσι τὴν φωνὴν ὑπὸ χαρᾶς, ὥσπερ ἥδυσμα τοῦ λιμναίου τὸ ὑέτιον προσδεχόμενοι καὶ σπέρμα τῆς ἐκείνων γλυκύτητος[3]· ἓν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖται σημεῖον
D ὑετοῦ μέλλοντος Ἄρατος εἰπὼν

ἦ μάλα[4] δείλαιαι γενεαί,[5] ὕδροισιν ὄνειαρ,
αὐτόθεν ἐκ λίμνης[6] πατέρες βοόωσι[7] γυρίνων.

[1] εἰσπεμπόμενον F. H. S., *cf.* Hippocrates, *De Flatibus*, 7 (*Corp. Med. Graec.* i. 1, p. 95. 8): ἐκπεμπόμενον. ? ἐκπεμπομένων Hubert.

[2] τούτων Wyttenbach: ταύτης.

[3] The text is suspect; perhaps some words, to which ἐκείνων refers, are missing.

[4] ἦ μάλα] ἦ μᾶλλον MSS. of Aratus, but ημαλαδ Pap. Mus. Brit. 484 e.

[5] δείλαιαι γενεαί Anon. (Amyot): δὴ λέγειν γενναίαι H: δηλ**** γενν**αι U[1]: δειλαὶ γενεαί U[2]a, MSS. of Aratus.

[6] ἐκ λίμνης U[2]a: ἐν λίμνης U[1]H. ἐξ ὕδατος MSS. of Aratus.

[7] βοόωσι aU[3]: βοῶσιν U[1]H.

[a] Diels-Kranz, *Frag. der Vorsok.* i. 31 B 81, quoted again below, 919 C. H. Diels, *Poet. Philos. Frag.* p. 137, explains that the juice of the grape is derived from moisture seeping through the bark of the vine, not from that taken up by the roots, comparing *Quaest. Conviv.* 688 A: τοῖς μὲν φυτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ περιέχοντος, ὡς φησιν Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, ὑδρευόμενοις τὸ πρόσφορον. Yet Empedocles held that the quality of wine depends on the soil in which the vine grows (Aëtius, v. 26). It is possible that, although Plutarch doubtless had ἀπό in his text, Empedocles really wrote ὑπό, as Xylander suggested: "Wine comes when water putrefies under the bark in the wood." οἶνος here

words bear witness:

Water from bark makes wine, when putrid in the wood.[a]

Or does the easiest and most obvious explanation lie in the good, sweet constituents of rain-water, which are immediately carried into ⟨the plant⟩ by the action of the wind ⟨contained in it⟩. That goodness is the reason why domestic animals also drink rain-water with great zest, and frogs, when expecting rain, croak more loudly and clearly for joy,[b] looking forward to the rain-water as a kind of sweetening for the water of the pond, and as a seed from which the freshness of the other waters will increase (?). Aratus includes this among the signs of coming rain; he says:

Straight from their pond the tadpoles' fathers utter their cry,
Pitiable tribes in sooth, the water-snakes' delight.[c]

seems to mean, not wine, but grape-juice, *cf.* 676 B: a clay soil is hot, διὸ καὶ συνεκπέττειν τὸν οἶνον. The view that concoction (which gives rise to grape-juice, *cf.* 918 E *infra*) is a kind of putrefaction or decay is contrary to the standard Aristotelian opinion that distinguishes these two processes, the former being the formation of a substance, effected by natural internal heat, the latter its destruction, due to alien external heat. (Indeed Aristotle, *Topica*, 127 a 17, dismisses Empedocles' view that wine is putrefied water.) Nevertheless, in Aristotle (?), *Meteor.* 379 b 10 ff., concoction is used as a generic term for all operations of heat.

[b] *Cf. De Sollertia Animalium*, 982 E; Aelian, *De Natura Animal.* ix. 13.

[c] Aratus, *Phaenomena*, 946 (*Diosemia*, 214). The scholiast on this passage, who (as I am informed by Mr. C. Hattink) may derive his comment from Plutarch's Αἰτίαι τῶν Ἀράτου Διοσημείων, writes μάλιστα δὲ φιλοῦσι τὸ ὄμβριον· γλυκύτερον γάρ ἐστι τοῦ πηγαίου. διὸ εὐφραίνει αὐτοὺς καὶ πλέον ζωογονεῖν ποιεῖ, ὡς καὶ τὰ φυτὰ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀμβρίνου θάλλουσιν. Hence it is possible, on the assumption of a lacuna, that the word σπέρμα in 912 C refers to the mating of frogs, which croak particularly in the breeding season.

Γ

(912) Διὰ τί παραβάλλουσι τοῖς θρέμμασιν ἅλας οἱ νομεῖς;

Πότερον, ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσι, πλήθους τροφῆς ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ παχύνειν; τήν τε γὰρ ὄρεξιν ἡ δριμύτης ἐκκαλεῖται καὶ τοὺς πόρους ἀναστομοῦσα μᾶλλον ὁδοποιεῖ τῇ[1] τροφῇ πρὸς τὴν ἀνάδοσιν· διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἰσχνοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀτρόφους Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Ἡροφίλειος[2] ἐκέλευε μὴ γλυκεῖ μηδὲ χόνδρῳ[3] τρέ-
E φειν ἀλλὰ τοῖς ταριχευτοῖς καὶ ὑφαλμυρίζουσιν, ὧν ἡ λεπτότης, ὥσπερ ἐντρίχωμα[4] γενομένη,[5] τὰ σιτία τοῖς σώμασι διὰ τῶν πόρων προστίθησιν.

Ἢ μᾶλλον ὑγιείας ἕνεκα καὶ συγκοπῆς πλήθους[6] τὸν ἅλα λείχειν[7] ἐθίζουσι τὰ βοσκήματα; νοσεῖ γὰρ ἄγαν πιαινόμενα, τὴν δὲ πιμελὴν τήκουσιν οἱ ἅλες καὶ διαχέουσιν· ὅθεν εὐμαρῶς καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἀποδέρουσιν αὐτὰ σφάξαντες[8]· ἡ γὰρ κολλῶσα καὶ συνδέουσα τὸ δέρμα πιμελὴ λεπτὴ καὶ ἀσθενὴς γέγονεν ὑπὸ τῆς δριμύτητος. λεπτύνεται δὲ καὶ τὸ αἷμα

[1] τῇ U²a : τε τῇ U¹H.
[2] Ἡροφίλειος Bernardakis : ἡροφίλιος U¹H : ἡροφίλου U²a.
[3] χόνδρῳ Bernardakis : χονδρῷ.
[4] ἐντρίχωμα] θρίγκωμα 685 B.
[5] γενομένη] ? γινομένη, *cf.* 685 B.
[6] ? συγκοπῆς ⟨πιμελῆς ἢ τροφῆς⟩ πλήθους.
[7] λείχειν U²a : λαχεῖν U¹H.

III

Why do herdsmen put down salt for their animals ?

Is it, as most people think, so that they shall eat plentifully and to fatten them ? The pungency of salt stimulates the appetite and at the same time by opening up the passages better prepares the way for the food to be distributed to the body. That is, indeed, the reason why Apollonius [a] the follower of Herophilus recommended that thin and unthriving subjects should be fed, not on syrup and gruel, but on pickled and slightly salted foods, the fineness of which, having become a kind of hairy growth (?),[b] causes an accretion of food through the passages to their bodies.

Or is it rather for the sake of health and reduction of bulk that they accustom their herds to lick salt ? Animals that grow over-fat are unhealthy, and salt melts fat away and dissipates it. Hence when they slaughter the animals, they skin them easily and conveniently, as the fat that binds the hide and causes it to adhere has become thin and weak from the pungency ⟨of the salt⟩. The blood, too, of animals

[a] Surnamed " Mouse," flourished *c.* 60 B.C., see M. Wellmann, *Hermes*, xxiii (1888), p. 565. Herophilus of Chalcedon, a brilliant anatomist, worked at Alexandria *c.* 300 B.C. His followers developed other sides of his medical teaching.

[b] *Cf. Quaest. Conviv.* 685 B. This passage awaits explanation. ἐντρίχωμα might be expected to mean a growth of hairs or filaments : its only known use is of that part of the eyelid from which the lashes grow, Pollux, ii. 69. Does Plutarch mean that the " fine " parts of salty foods form fine threads, which pass through the passages and draw the rest of the food after them ?

[8] αὐτὰ σφάξαντες Anon. 3 (Turnebus) : αὐτὰς φυλάξαντες.

(912) τῶν[1] ἅλας λειχόντων[2] οὐδὲ πήγνυται τὰ ἐντὸς ἁλῶν μιγέντων.

Σκόπει δὲ μὴ καὶ γονιμώτερα καὶ προθυμότερα
F πρὸς τὰς συνουσίας[3]· καὶ γὰρ αἱ κύνες κύουσι ταχέως τάριχος ἐπεσθίουσαι, καὶ τὰ ἀληγὰ[4] τῶν πλοίων πλείους τρέφει μῦς διὰ τὸ πολλάκις συμπλέκεσθαι.

Δ

Διὰ τί τῶν ὀμβρίων ὑδάτων εὐαλδέστερα[5] τοῖς σπέρμασι τὰ μετὰ βροντῶν καὶ ἀστραπῶν, ἃ δὴ καὶ ἀστραπαῖα[6] καλοῦσι;

Πότερον ὅτι πνευματώδη διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀέρος ταραχὴν καὶ ἀνάμιξιν, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα τὴν ὑγρότητα κινοῦν μᾶλλον ἀναπέμπει καὶ ἀναδίδωσιν;

913 Ἢ βροντὰς μὲν καὶ ἀστραπὰς ποιεῖ τὸ θερμὸν ἐν τῷ ἀέρι πρὸς τὸ ψυχρὸν μαχόμενον (διὸ[7] χειμῶνος ἥκιστα βροντᾷ[8] μάλιστα δ' ἔαρος καὶ φθινοπώρου διὰ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν τῆς κράσεως), ἡ δὲ θερμότης

[1] τῶν Bernardakis : τῶν τὸ.
[2] λειχόντων] διαλειχόντων Psellus.
[3] συνουσίας] Psellus adds ἐντεῦθεν καθίστανται.
[4] ἀληγὰ Vat. 139, *cf.* 685 D : ἄλη τὰ Ua.
[5] εὐαλδέστερα Xylander, *cf.* 664 D : εὐαρδέστερα Ua Psellus.
[6] ἀστραπαῖα Anon. 2 (Turnebus) : ἀστραπὰς.
[7] διὸ] διὸ καὶ Psellus.
[8] βροντᾷ Anon. 2 (Turnebus) : βρονταὶ Ua Psellus.

[a] Obscure, but the converse phrase seems to occur at *Quaest. Conviv.* 690 A (ἡ ὑγρότης ποιεῖ) τροφιμώτερα τῷ ἐγχαλᾶσθαι τὰ ἐντός, where τὰ ἐντός must refer to the contents of the stomach. The idea that salt water prevents constipation

that lick salt grows thin and there is no internal solidification [a] if there is an admixture of salt.

Consider, however, whether they do not become at once more fertile and readier to mate. Certainly bitches conceive quickly if they eat salted meat after copulating,[b] and ships that carry a cargo of salt breed more rats [c] because of their frequent coition.

IV

Why is the water of rains that accompany thunder and lightning, which is in fact called "lightning-water," productive of better growth in seedlings ? [d]

Is it because these rains are full of wind (*pneuma*) through the disturbance of the air and its ⟨consequent⟩ admixture, and the wind, by imparting movement to the moisture, better effects its rise and distribution ⟨in the plant⟩ ?

Or is it that thunder and lightning are caused by the conflict of warmth and cold in the air [e] (which is why there is least thunder in the winter, and most in the spring and autumn,[f] owing to the uneven tem-

is mentioned but rejected by Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, 7.

[b] *Cf. Quaest. Conviv.* 685 D, but there the salted meat is given to bitches as an aphrodisiac.

[c] On the existence of rats in classical antiquity see W. P. MacArthur, *Trans. Roy. Soc. Trop. Medicine and Hygiene*, xlvi (1952), pp. 209 ff.

[d] *Cf. Quaest. Conviv.* 664 D, where εὐαλδής is said to be a farmers' word. The true reason is that the rain of a thunderstorm contains nitric acid, formed by the passage of electric currents through the air in the presence of water : the nitrogen is a rapid stimulant of plant growth.

[e] *Cf.* Aristotle, *Meteorologica*, 369 a 12-29.

[f] *Cf.* Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 136 ; Arrian, *Frag. Phys.* 3.

(913) πέττουσα[1] τὸ ὑγρὸν προσφιλὲς ποιεῖ τοῖς βλαστάνουσι καὶ ὠφέλιμον;

Ἢ μάλιστα μὲν ἔαρος βροντᾷ καὶ ἀστράπτει διὰ τὴν εἰρημένην αἰτίαν, τὰ δ' ἐαρινὰ τῶν ὑδάτων ἀναγκαιότερα τοῖς σπέρμασι πρὸ[2] τοῦ θέρους, ὅθεν ἡ πλεῖστον ὑομένη τοῦ ἔαρος χώρα καθάπερ ἡ ἐν Σικελίᾳ πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς καρποὺς ἀναδίδωσιν;

E

Διὰ τί τῶν χυμῶν, ὀκτὼ τῷ γένει ὄντων, ἕνα
B μόνον, τὸν ἁλμυρόν, ἀπ' οὐδενὸς καρποῦ γεννώμενον ὁρῶμεν; καίτοι καὶ τὸν πικρὸν ἡ ἐλαία φέρει πρῶτον καὶ τὸν ὀξὺν[3] ὁ βότρυς, εἶτα μεταβάλλων ὁ μὲν γίνεται λιπαρὸς ὁ δ' οἰνώδης· μεταβάλλει δὲ καὶ ὁ στρυφνὸς ἐν ταῖς φοινικοβαλάνοις καὶ ὁ αὐστηρὸς ἐν ταῖς ῥοιαῖς[4] εἰς τὸν γλυκύν (ἔνιαι δὲ ῥοιαὶ καὶ μῆλα τὸν ὀξὺν[5] ἁπλῶς φέρουσιν), ὁ δὲ δριμὺς ἐν ταῖς ῥίζαις καὶ σπέρμασι πολύς ἐστι.

Πότερον οὖν οὐκ ἔστιν ἁλμυροῦ γένεσις ἀλλὰ φθορὰ τῶν ἄλλων τὸ ἁλμυρόν, διὸ καὶ πᾶσιν ἄτροφον τοῖς ἀπὸ φυτῶν καὶ σπερμάτων τρεφομένοις,

[1] πέττουσα later MSS. : πίπτουσα Ua Psellus.
[2] πρὸ] ? τῶν πρὸ.
[3] ὀξὺν U[1] : ὀξίνην U[2]a.
[4] ῥόαις Ua.
[5] ὀξὺν U[1] Psellus : ὀξίνην U[2]a.

[a] On κρᾶσις (temperature) see introd. p. 139.
[b] The meaning may be that spring rain is more essential than winter rain; but the Greek is awkward and should perhaps be emended to mean "more essential than those which come just before the time of harvest."

perature) and the warmth by concocting the moisture makes it agreeable and helpful to growing things?[a]

Or do thunder and lightning occur particularly in the spring for the reason given, while spring rains are more essential to the seedlings, coming before the heat of the summer,[b] so that the land that receives most rain in the spring, like that in Sicily, grows crops that are good in quantity and in quality.[c]

V

Why do we observe that only one of the eight generic flavourings, namely the salty, is not produced by any seed or fruit?[d] Yet the olive produces the bitter flavouring at first and the grape the acid flavouring; afterwards the flavourings change and become the one oily, the other vinous. The astringent flavouring in dates, too, and the sour in pomegranates turn to the sweet, although some pomegranates and apples produce nothing but the acid. The pungent flavouring is prominent in roots and seeds.[e]

Is the point that there is no *generation* of the salty flavouring, which is, on the contrary, a *corruption* of the others? That is the reason why it is not nutritious for any animal that feeds on plants and seeds,

[c] *Cf. Comm. in Hes.* OD 485 (vol. vii, p. 75 Bernardakis); Theophrastus, *De Causis Plant.* iv. 9. 5, *Hist. Plant.* viii. 6. 6.
[d] The eight flavourings are the acid (ὀξύς), sweet (γλυκύς), astringent (στρυφνός), bitter (πικρός), salty (ἁλμυρός), pungent (δριμύς), oily (λιπαρός), and sour (αὐστηρός), see Theophrastus, *De Causis Plant.* vi. 4. 1. Others added the vinous (οἰνώδης), as does Plutarch here, failing to observe that he thus enumerates nine, not eight, flavourings.
[e] The punctuation and rendering follow Psellus's paraphrase.

(913) ἥδυσμα δ' ἐνίοις γίνεται τῷ τὸ πλήσμιον ἀφαιρεῖν τῶν τρεφόντων;

C Ἢ, καθάπερ τῆς θαλάττης ἕψοντες ἀφαιροῦσι τὸ ἁλυκὸν καὶ δηκτικόν, ἐν τοῖς καρποῖς[1] ὑπὸ θερμότητος ἐξαμαυροῦται τὸ ἁλμυρόν;

Ἢ χυμὸς μέν ἐστιν, ὡς Πλάτων εἶπεν, ὕδωρ ἠθημένον διὰ φυτοῦ, διηθουμένη δὲ καὶ θάλαττα τὸ ἁλμυρὸν ἀποβάλλει; γεώδες γὰρ καὶ παχυμερές ἐστιν, ὅθεν ὀρύττοντες παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐντυγχάνουσι ποτίμοις λιβαδίοις, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ κηρίνοις ἀγγείοις ἀναλαμβάνουσιν ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης ὕδωρ γλυκὺ διηθούμενον, ἀποκρινομένου τοῦ ἁλυκοῦ καὶ γεώδους· ἡ δὲ δι' ἀργίλου[2] προδιαγωγὴ παντάπασι

D τὴν θάλατταν διηθουμένην πότιμον ἀποδίδωσι τῷ κατέχειν ἐν ἑαυτῇ καὶ μὴ διιέναι τὸ γεῶδες.

Οὕτως[3] δὲ τούτων ἐχόντων, εἰκός ἐστι τὰ φυτὰ μήτ' ἔξωθεν ἀναλαμβάνειν ἁλμυρίδα μήτ', ἂν ἐν αὐτοῖς[4] λάβῃ γένεσιν, ἐκκρίνειν εἰς τὸν καρπόν· οἱ

[1] καρποῖς F. H. S.: θερμοῖς.
[2] δι' ἀργίλου Meziriacus: καὶ ἀργία καὶ.
[3] οὕτως U: οὕτω a.
[4] αὐτοῖς U^2: αὐτοῖς U^1a.

[a] The ripening of fruit is a process of concoction, and the fruit is first formed by concoction of the plant's food. The internal heat that works these concoctions destroys any saltiness there may be in the food. The extraordinary idea that sea-water can be made sweet by boiling it is found in Ps.-Aristotle, *Problemata*, 933 b 11; *Geoponica*, ii. 47. 3; and Cassius (Ideler, *Physici et Medici Graeci Minores*, i, p. 163). Perhaps it arose from a misunderstanding of some account of distillation, *cf.* Michael Glycas, *Annales*, i, p. 10 (19 Bekker): καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ τῆς θαλάττης ὕδωρ ἴδοι τις ἂν ὑπὸ τῶν ναυτιλλομένων ἑψόμενον . . . τηνικαῦτα γὰρ σπόγγοις ὑποδεχόμενοι τοὺς ἀναγομένους ἐκεῖθεν ἀτμοὺς κτλ. Hippocrates,

although for some it acts as a relish by removing the satiety caused by the foods that do nourish them.

Or is the salty flavouring extinguished in fruits by the action of heat, just as men remove the saltiness and tang of sea-water by boiling it? [a]

Or is a flavouring, as Plato said,[b] water that has been strained through a plant, whereas even the sea loses its saltiness when filtered? For this saltiness is earthy and in large particles [c]; hence by digging on the seashore men come on drinkable moisture; frequently too, they draw up sweet filtered water from the sea in vessels made of wax, the salty earthy constituents being thus separated from it; previous passage through white clay also renders the sea, so filtered, quite drinkable, because the clay retains the earthy constituent and does not let it through.[d]

This being so, it is probable that plants neither take up anything salty from their environment nor secrete any salty product, should it be generated internally, into their seed or fruit, since their passages

Airs, Waters, Places, 8 generalizes: not only water, but anything else, is sweetened by boiling.

[b] *Timaeus*, 59 E.

[c] *Cf. Quaest. Conviv.* 627 B and C (from Aristotle).

[d] Salt can be extracted from sea-water by filtering through certain resins, but not through clay or wax. The mistake over the origin of fresh water in a well by the sea-shore (*cf.* Lucretius, ii. 474, vi. 635) is understandable, but not that over the story of the wax vessel, which is told circumstantially by Aristotle, *Meteorologica*, 358 b 34, *Historia Animal.* 590 a 24, and Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxi. 70, who mentions also the filtering through clay. H. Diels, *Hermes*, xl (1905), pp. 312 ff., thinks that these stories were given currency by Democritus, who may also have enumerated the eight flavourings (Theophrastus, *De Sensu*, 64 ff.). Modern failures to repeat the experiment with wax bottles are recorded by M. K. Stephanides, Ἀθηνᾶ, xiii (1901), p. 3, and D'Arcy W. Thompson in the Oxford Translation of Aristotle, *Historia Animalium*.

(913) γὰρ πόροι διὰ λεπτότητα τὸ γεῶδες καὶ παχυμερὲς οὐ διηθοῦσιν.

Ἢ τῆς πικρότητος εἶδος τὴν ἁλμυρότητα θετέον, ὡς Ὅμηρος;—

στόματος δ' ἐξέπτυσεν ἅλμην
πικρήν, ἣ τοι[1] πολλὸν[2] ἀπὸ κρατὸς κελάρυζεν.[3]

Καὶ ὁ Πλάτων φησὶν ἀμφοτέρους ῥύπτειν καὶ ἀποτήκειν τοὺς χυμούς, ἧττον δὲ ταῦτα ποιεῖν τὸν ἁλυκὸν καὶ οὐ τραχὺν εἶναι· δόξει δὲ τὸ πικρὸν τοῦ
E ἁλυκοῦ ξηρότητος ὑπερβολῇ διαφέρειν, ἐπεὶ ξηραντικόν τι[4] καὶ τὸ ἁλυκόν.

ς

Διὰ τί τοῖς συνεχῶς διὰ τῶν δεδροσισμένων δένδρων βαδίζουσι λέπραν ἴσχει τὰ ψαύοντα τῆς ὕλης μόρια τοῦ σώματος;

Πότερον, ὡς Λαῖτος ἔλεγε, τῇ λεπτότητι τὸ δροσῶδες ὑγρὸν ἀποξύει τοῦ χρωτός;

Ἢ, καθάπερ ἐρυσίβη τοῖς[5] ὑγραινομένοις ἐγγίνεται σπέρμασιν, οὕτως ὑπὸ τῆς δρόσου τῶν ἐπιπολῆς[6] χλωρῶν καὶ ἁπαλῶν ἀναχαρασσομένων καὶ ἀποτηκομένων ἄχνη τις ἀπιοῦσα τοῦ σίνοντος ἀναπίμπλησι, προσχεομένη τε[7] τοῖς ἀναιμοτάτοις μέρεσι τῆς σαρκός, οἷα κνῆμαι καὶ πόδες, ἀμύσσει

[1] ἣ τοι U²a : ἤτοι U¹. ἣ οἱ Homer.
[2] πολλὸν] πολλὴ Homer. [3] κελάρυζεν U¹ : κελάρυζε aU corr.
[4] τι later MSS. : τε. [5] τοῖς Xylander : ἢ τοῖς.
[6] ἐπιπολῆς later MSS. and a corr. : ἐπὶ πολλῆς U.
[7] τε added by F. H. S. (καὶ προσχ. Anon. (Amyot)).

[a] *Odyssey*, v. 322-323. Theophrastus thus identified the salt and bitter flavourings.

are too narrow to allow the large-sized earthy constituents to filter through.

Or ought we to regard saltiness as a species of bitterness, like Homer?—

From his mouth he spat the brine,
The bitter brine that pattered and gushed in streams from his head. [a]

Plato, too, says that both these flavourings cleanse and dissolve, but that the salty does so less, and is not rough.[b] It will also be agreed that the bitter flavouring differs from the salty by a greater dryness, since even the salty has a certain drying effect.

VI

Why do those who constantly walk through bushes wet with dew contract a scabbiness on those parts of their bodies that come into contact with the brushwood? [c]

Is it, as Laetus [d] said, that the moisture of dew abrades the skin by reason of its fineness?

Or that, just as mildew [e] forms on seeds that become damp, similarly when the tender green surfaces are scarified and dissolved by the dew, a kind of fluff comes away and causes infection with the mischief; and if it settles on such parts of the flesh as are least well supplied with blood, like the feet and lower

[b] *Timaeus*, 65 D-E, a passage which recognizes seven of the eight flavourings, omitting the oily.
[c] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxi. 33, Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* iii. 25. 11, also believe that dew causes scabbiness.
[d] See above, 911 F.
[e] *Cf.* Theophrastus, *De Causis Plant.* iii. 23. 1-2, iv. 14. 3. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 91. 275, thinks that dew causes mildew. The English word " mildew " means " honey-dew."

(913) F καὶ δάκνει τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν; ὅτι γὰρ φύσει τι δηκτικὸν ἔνεστι τῇ δρόσῳ, μαρτυρεῖ τὸ τοὺς πίονας[1] ἰσχνοτέρους[2] ποιεῖν· αἱ γοῦν πίονες γυναῖκες ἱματίοις ἢ ἐρίοις ἁπαλοῖς ἀναλαμβάνουσαι τῆς δρόσου δοκοῦσι συντήκειν τὴν πολυσαρκίαν.

Z

Διὰ τί τὰ πλοῖα χειμῶνος ἐν τοῖς ποταμοῖς πλεῖ βράδιον, ἐν δὲ τῇ θαλάττῃ οὐ παραπλησίως;

Πότερον ὁ ποτάμιος ἀήρ, ἀεὶ δυσκίνητος ὢν καὶ βαρὺς ἐν δὲ χειμῶνι μᾶλλον παχυνόμενος[3] διὰ τὴν περίψυξιν, ἐμποδών ἐστι τοῖς πλέουσιν;

Ἢ τοῦτο μᾶλλον τοῦ ἀέρος πάσχουσιν οἱ ποτα-
914 μοί; συνελαύνουσα[4] γὰρ ἡ ψυχρότης τὸ ὕδωρ ποιεῖ βαρὺ καὶ σωματῶδες, ὡς ἔστιν ἐν ταῖς κλεψύδραις καταμαθεῖν, βράδιον γὰρ ἕλκουσι χειμῶνος ἢ θέρους· ἐν δὲ Θρᾴκῃ περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον ἱστορεῖ Θεόφραστος εἶναι κρήνην, ἀφ'[5] ἧς ταὐτὸ γέμον[6] ἀγγεῖον[7] ὕδατος ἱστάμενον χειμῶνος ἕλκειν διπλάσιον σταθμὸν ἢ θέρους. ὅτι δ' ἡ πυκνότης τοῦ

[1] πίονας Jannot : πίνοντας.
[2] ἰσχνοτέρους later mss. : ἰσχνοπόρους.
[3] παχυνόμενος Anon. 3 (Turnebus) : ἀπαλυνόμενος.
[4] συνελαύνουσα Anon. (Amyot) : ἐλαύνουσα.
[5] ἀφ' Anon. (Amyot) : ἐφ'.
[6] γέμον aU[3] : μένον U[1].
[7] ἀγγεῖον added by Wyttenbach.

[a] The *clepsydra*, which was a device used for transferring liquids, consisted of a closed vessel with small holes in its base and a larger one above. When placed in a liquid with the upper hole uncovered, it would fill from beneath; the hole being stopped by a finger or a plug, it could be lifted

parts of the leg, it scratches and erodes the skin? That dew has a natural erosive property is evidenced by its making fat people thinner. At any rate fat women imagine that by soaking up some dew on cloths or soft flocks of wool they cause their excess flesh to melt away.

VII

Why do boats travel more slowly on rivers during the winter, while there is nothing like the same effect in the sea?

Is it that the river air, which is always sluggish and heavy, and is further thickened in the winter by being chilled, is an obstacle to one's passage?

Or is it the rivers rather than the air that are so affected? The cold compresses the water and makes it heavy and more substantial, as can be observed in our *clepsydrae*,[a] which draw up water more slowly in winter than in summer. And Theophrastus records the existence on Mount Pangaeum in Thrace of a spring with this peculiarity: one and the same vessel filled with water from it and put on the scales weighs twice as much in winter as in summer.[b] That the

out of the liquid, its contents being unable to escape through the small holes owing to the atmospheric pressure until the upper hole was unstopped. The same name was applied to a device which applied the same principle and was used in the law-courts to measure the time allowed to a speaker.

[b] According to Athenaeus, 41 f ff., Theophrastus told this story in Περὶ τῶν ὑδάτων (frag. 159 Wimmer), where he gave the weight ratio as 96 : 46. An experiment involving an exact quantitative observation is unusual in antiquity, and this one cannot have been correctly performed, if the result is correctly reported.

(914) ὕδατος τὴν βραδυτῆτα ποιεῖ τοῦ πλοῦ, δῆλόν ἐστι τῷ πλείονα γόμον φέρειν τὰ ποτάμια πλοῖα τοῦ χειμῶνος· τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ μᾶλλον ἀντερείδει πυκνότερον καὶ βαρύτερον γινόμενον, τὴν δὲ θάλατταν ἡ
B θερμότης κωλύει πυκνοῦσθαι, δι' ἣν οὐδὲ πήγνυται, μάλκη[1] γὰρ ἔοικεν εἶναι[2] πύκνωσις.

H

Διὰ τί, τῶν ἄλλων ὑγρῶν ἐν τῷ κινεῖσθαι καὶ στρέφεσθαι ψυχομένων, τὴν θάλατταν ὁρῶμεν ἐν τῷ κυματοῦσθαι θερμοτέραν γιγνομένην;

Ἢ[3] τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ὑγρῶν ἐπεισόδιον οὖσαν καὶ ἀλλοτρίαν ἐξίστησιν ἡ κίνησις τὴν θερμότητα καὶ διαφορεῖ, τὴν δὲ τῆς θαλάττης σύμφυτον οὖσαν ἐκριπίζουσι μᾶλλον οἱ ἄνεμοι καὶ τρέφουσι; μαρτύρια[4] δὲ τῆς θερμότητος ἡ διαύγεια καὶ τὸ μὴ πήγνυσθαι, καίπερ οὖσαν γεώδη καὶ βαρεῖαν.

Θ

Διὰ τί τοῦ χειμῶνος ἧττον πικρὰ γίνεται γευομέ-

[1] μάλκη Doehner : μαλακὴ.
[2] εἶναι Hubert : εἶναι ἡ.
[3] ἡ Duebner : ἡ U[1] : ἢ U[2]a.
[4] μαρτύρια later MSS. : μαρτυρία Ua.

[a] Freezing of water seems to be identified or compared with the numbing of the body by cold.

[b] *Cf.* Aristotle, *Meteorologica*, 358 b 16. A phenomenon familiar to bathers, but not registered by thermometers. The cause of the illusion is to be sought mainly in the relative

slowness of the boat's progress is caused by the density of the water is clear from the fact that river-vessels carry more cargo in the winter ; the water, becoming denser and heavier, has greater buoyancy. The sea, on the other hand, is prevented from growing denser by its warmth, which is also the cause of its not freezing, since stiffening induced by cold is in all probability an increase in density.[a]

VIII

Why do we observe that the sea becomes warmer when it grows rough, whereas all other liquids grow colder when moved and stirred ? [b]

Are we to say that movement expels and dissipates warmth from all other liquids, in which it is an alien intrusion, but the warmth of the sea, being natural to it, is rather fanned and fed by the winds ? Evidence of this natural warmth is to be found in the sea's transparency [c] and the fact that it does not freeze, in spite of being earthy and heavy.[d]

IX

Why does the sea become less bitter to the taste

temperatures of sea and air, and the chilling effect of the wind that often accompanies a rough sea.

[c] The argument appears to be that transparent water must contain light and therefore fire and warmth (*cf.* 915 A below). The sea is no more transparent than fresh water, but some Greeks, perhaps as not familiar with any deep fresh waters, thought that it was (*Problemata*, 932 b 8, 935 b 17).

[d] Freezing is regarded as solidification, which might be expected to occur more readily in a liquid with an initial proportion of solid matter.

(914) νοις ἡ θάλαττα; τοῦτο γάρ φασι καὶ Διονύσιον ἱστορεῖν τὸν ὑδραγωγόν.

C Ἢ[1] ὅτι παντελῶς μὲν ἔρημος οὐκ ἔστι γλυκύτητος οὐδ' ἄμοιρος ἡ πικρότης, ἅτε δὴ ποταμοὺς τοσούτους ὑποδεχομένης τῆς θαλάττης· τοῦ δ' ἡλίου τὸ γλυκὺ καὶ πότιμον ἐξαιροῦντος ὑπὸ κουφότητος ἐπιπολάζον[2] καὶ μᾶλλον ἐν τῷ θέρει τοῦτο ποιοῦντος, ἐν δὲ τῷ χειμῶνι μαλακώτερον ἁπτομένου δι' ἀσθένειαν θερμότητος, ὑπολειπομένη μοῖρα πολλὴ[3] γλυκύτητος ἀνίησι τὸ ἀκράτως πικρὸν καὶ φαρμακῶδες; τοῦτο δ' ἡσυχῇ καὶ τοῖς ποτίμοις συμβέβηκε· θέρους γὰρ πονηρότερα γίνεται, τὸ κουφότατον καὶ γλυκύτατον τοῦ θερμοῦ διαφοροῦντος, ἐν δὲ

D χειμῶνι νέον ἐπιρρεῖ[4] καὶ πρόσφατον, οὗ μετέχειν ἀνάγκη καὶ τὴν θάλατταν, ὑομένην[5] ἅμα καὶ τῶν ποταμῶν ἐπιδιδόντων.

I

Διὰ τί τῷ οἴνῳ θάλασσαν παραχέουσι—καὶ χρησμόν τινα λέγουσιν Ἁλαιεῖς[6] κομισθῆναι προστάττοντα βαπτίζειν τὸν Διόνυσον πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν—

[1] ἦ added by one late MS. (ἦ).
[2] ἐπιπολάζον Duebner : τὸ ἐπιπολάζον.
[3] πολλὴ one late MS. : πολλῆς.
[4] ἐπιρρεῖ Duebner (εἰσρεῖ Amyot) : σπείρει.
[5] ὑομένην Kronenberg : σειομένην. εἰσυομένην Post.
[6] Ἁλαιεῖς F. H. S. : ἁλιεῖς. *Cf.* Schol. T. *Iliad*, vi. 136 : χρη-

in winter ? [a] They say that this fact is also recorded by Dionysius the designer of aqueducts.[b]

Are we to say that the sea's bitterness is not entirely devoid or destitute of sweetness, seeing that so many rivers discharge into it ? Now the sun removes the sweet drinkable water, which, being light, lies on the surface.[c] This action is greater in the summer ; the winter sun has a gentler effect, as its warmth lacks strength, so that a large measure of sweetness is left behind to dilute the unadulteratedly bitter and poisonous constituents. The same thing occurs in a mild way with drinkable waters too : they become less good in summer, because the warmth dissipates the lightest and sweetest constituents, while in the winter fresh new water flows in. The sea, too, necessarily has its share of this fresh water, since rain falls upon it and at the same time the rivers increase in volume.

X

Why do people pour sea-water into wine (and it is said that the men of Halae [d] had an oracle directing them to dip Dionysus in the sea), while people who

[a] *Cf.* Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxi. 52 ; Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.* ii. 27. This question assumes the identity of the salt and bitter flavourings, see above on Question v.
[b] Unknown.
[c] *Cf.* Aristotle, *Meteorologica*, 355 a 32 ; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 222.
[d] A deme on the N.E. coast of Attica.

σμὸς ἐδόθη Ἁλαιεῦσιν (Wilamowitz : ἁλιεῦσιν)· ἐν πόντῳ (Tuempel : τόπῳ) Διόνυσον Ἁλαιέα (Wilamowitz : ἁλιέα) βαπτίζοιτε, ὡς Φιλόχορος (*Frag. Gr. Hist.* iii B 328, F. 191).

(914) οἱ δὲ πόρρω θαλάττης ἐμβάλλουσι γύψον Ζακυνθίαν ὀπτήσαντες;

Πότερον ἡ θερμότης βοηθεῖ πρὸς τὴν περίψυξιν, ἢ δι' αὐτῆς[1] ἐξίστησι μάλιστα τὸν οἶνον ἀποσβεννύουσα καὶ φθείρουσα τὴν δύναμιν;

Ἢ τὸ ὑδατῶδες καὶ πνευματῶδες τοῦ οἴνου πρὸς μεταβολὴν ἐπισφαλέστατ' ἔχον[2] ἵστησι τὰ γεώδη πεφυκότα στύφειν καὶ κατισχναίνειν, οἱ δ' ἅλες μετὰ τῆς θαλάττης λεπτύνοντες καὶ ἀποτήκοντες
E τὸ ἀλλότριον καὶ περιττὸν οὐκ ἐῶσι δυσωδίαν οὐδὲ σῆψιν ἐγγίνεσθαι; πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, ὅσον ἐστὶ[3]

[1] ἢ δι' αὐτῆς F. H. S. : ἢ αὐτῆς. ἢ αὐτὴ Stephanus. ἢ ἀφ' αὐτῆς Castiglioni.
[2] ἐπισφαλέστατ' ἔχον Meziriacus : ἐπισφαλεστάτην ἔχοντος.
[3] ἐστὶ] ἔνεστι Hubert.

[a] Zacynthus (Zante) is still the principal source of gypsum in Greece. The Romans thought the use of sea-water characteristic of Greek wines, *cf.* Cato, *De Agricultura*, 24, 104-106, Plautus, *Rudens*, 588 ; but some adopted the practice, Cato, *ibid.*, Columella, xii. 21-22, who give elaborate directions ; *cf.* also Athenaeus, 26 b, 31 f, 32 d-e, 33 b, Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xiv. 73-75, 120, 126 (some of which passages also speak of gypsum). The oracle might be more appropriately explained by adducing Pliny, *ibid.* xiv. 78, "vasis musti deiectis in mare, quo genere praecox fit vetustas," than by the addition of sea-water to the grape-juice, *cf.* A. Henderson, *History of Ancient and Modern Wines* (1824), p. 40. According to this author the use of baked gypsum was in his day thought to be intended "to absorb the excess of humidity" (p. 8) and, like that of salt, "to correct the sweetness of the liquor" (p. 244).

Sea-water is perhaps no longer used in Greek wine-making. It would slightly increase acidity, since chlorine ions, produced by hydrolysis of sodium chloride, decrease the pH value. This increased acidity might improve the wine by inhibiting the growth of micro-organisms that cause cloudiness and instability. The use of gypsum, baked or unbaked,

live far from the coast put in baked gypsum from Zacynthus ? [a]

Is it that the warmth ⟨in the sea-water⟩ [b] is an aid against chilling, which of itself does more than anything else to alter the quality of wine by quenching and destroying its active characteristic ? [c]

Or do the earthy substances, which have astringent and reducing properties, fix those ingredients of the wine which have the nature of water or breath (*pneuma*) and stand in most danger of change,[d] while the salt which goes with the sea-water, by refining and dissolving foreign and superfluous ingredients, does not allow the development of unpleasant odours or putrefaction ? Moreover, all that is thick and

which is still practised in some places, has the same good effect by a different means : added to the unfermented juice, the gypsum (calcium sulphate, hydrated when unbaked) reacts with potassium hydrogen tartrate contained in the juice and stalks to produce calcium tartrate, potassium sulphate, and tartaric acid : the last, being soluble in alcohol, is not precipitated (unlike the insoluble tartrate), but remains in the wine and increases its acidity. Calcium sulphate also has clarifying properties, since it causes colloidal suspended matter to settle out. Plutarch therefore correctly states the effects of adding sea-water and gypsum in wine-making, although he had no means of knowing how they are produced.

[b] For the supposed warmth of sea-water *cf.* Question viii.

[c] The δύναμις, "power" or "active characteristic" of wine, is heat (*cf. Quaest. Conviv.* 701 F, although Plutarch is found arguing, not very seriously, for the view that wine is cold, *ibid.* 652 B ff., where he remarks that the question had been canvassed by Aristotle). This heat will be destroyed by chilling. Thus Aristotle argued that the vinous parts of wine became cold on conversion to vinegar, their warmth passing into the "watery residue" when the wine "putrefies" (frag. 222 Rose).

[d] The vaporous elements tend to evaporate, the watery ones to putrefy.

(914) παχὺ καὶ γεῶδες, ἐμπλεκόμενον τοῖς βαρυτέροις καὶ συγκατασπώμενον ὑποστάθμην ποιεῖ καὶ τρύγα τὸν δ' οἶνον ἀπολείπει καθαρόν.

IA

Διὰ τί μᾶλλον ναυτιῶσι τὴν θάλατταν πλέοντες ἢ τοὺς ποταμούς, κἂν ἐν γαλήνῃ πλέωσι;

Ἢ[1] μάλιστα ναυτίαν κινεῖ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἡ ὄσφρησις, τῶν δὲ παθῶν ὁ φόβος; καὶ γὰρ τρέμουσι καὶ φρίττουσι καὶ κοιλίας ἐξυγραίνονται φαντασίαν κινδύνου λαβόντες. τούτων δ'[2] οὐδέτερον ἐνοχλεῖ τοῖς διὰ ποταμοῦ πλέουσιν· ἡ γὰρ ὄσφρησις παντὶ[3] ποτίμῳ καὶ γλυκεῖ συνήθης ἐστὶν ὁ δὲ πλοῦς
F ἀκίνδυνος. ἐν δὲ τῇ θαλάττῃ τήν τ' ὀσμὴν ἀηθείᾳ δυσχεραίνουσι καὶ φοβοῦνται, μὴ πιστεύοντες τῷ παρόντι, περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος· οὐδὲν οὖν ὄφελος τῆς ἔξω γαλήνης, ἀλλὰ[4] ἡ ψυχὴ σάλον ἔχουσα καὶ θορυβουμένη συγκινεῖ καὶ ἀναπίμπλησι τὸ σῶμα τῆς ταραχῆς.

IB

Διὰ τί τῆς θαλάττης ἐλαίῳ καταρραινομένης γίνεται καταφάνεια καὶ γαλήνη;

Πότερον, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης φησί, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς

[1] ἢ added by Leonicus (ἢ ὅτι).
[2] δὲ added by later MSS.
[3] παντὶ] ὕδατι Amyot.
[4] ἀλλὰ Hubert: ἀλλὰ καί.

earthy in the wine is entangled with the heavier particles and carried down with them to form a deposit, the lees, leaving the wine itself clear.

XI

Why are people more liable to be sea-sick when on a sea-voyage than on rivers, even although they have calm weather for the voyage?

Are we to say that of all sensations it is smell, and of all emotions fear, that most conduces to sickness? Certainly people tremble and shiver and their bowels turn to water when imagining some danger. But neither of the above causes troubles people who travel by river: everybody's sense of smell is accustomed to fresh water, such as one can drink, and there is no danger in the passage. At sea, on the other hand, men find the smell disagreeable because of its strangeness, and not trusting the present weather to last, are anxious about what the future holds. Thus the calm in their surroundings does them no good: their psychological tossing and upset cause an accompanying disturbance in the body and infect it with their disorder.

XII

What is the reason for the clearness and calm produced when the sea is sprinkled with oil?

Is it, as Aristotle says,[a] that the wind, slipping over

[a] Perhaps in the lost *Problems*. *Cf.* Ps.-Aristotle, *Problemata*, 961 a 24, *Problemata Inedita*, iii. 29. 47 Bussemaker.

(914) λειότητος ἀπολισθαῖνον οὐ ποιεῖ πληγὴν οὐδὲ σάλον;

915 Ἢ[1] τοῦτο[2] πιθανῶς εἴρηται πρὸς τὰ ἐκτός, ἐπεὶ δέ φασι καὶ τοὺς κατακολυμβῶντας, ὅταν ἔλαιον εἰς τὸ στόμα λαβόντες ἐκφυσήσωσιν ἐν τῷ βυθῷ, φέγγος ἴσχειν καὶ δίοψιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκεῖ πνεύματος ὄλισθον αἰτιάσασθαι; σκόπει δὴ μὴ τὴν θάλατταν γεώδη καὶ ἀνώμαλον οὖσαν ἐξωθεῖ καὶ διαστέλλει τῇ πυκνότητι τὸ ἔλαιον, εἶτ' ἀνατρεχούσης εἰς ἑαυτὴν[3] καὶ συστελλομένης ἀπολείπονται πόροι μεταξὺ ταῖς ὄψεσι διαύγειαν καὶ καταφάνειαν διδόντες.

Ἢ φύσει μέν ἐστι φωτεινὸς ὑπὸ θερμότητος ὁ τῇ θαλάττῃ καταμεμιγμένος ἀήρ, γίνεται δὲ ταραχθεὶς ἀνώμαλος καὶ σκιώδης· ὅταν οὖν τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν ἐπιλεάνῃ πυκνότητι τὸ ἔλαιον, ἀπολαμβάνει τὴν ὁμαλότητα καὶ τὴν διαύγειαν;

ΙΓ

Διὰ τί χειμῶνος μᾶλλον ἢ θέρους τὰ τῶν ἁλιέων σήπεται δίκτυα, καίτοι τά γ' ἄλλα μᾶλλον ἐν τῷ θέρει τοῦτο πάσχει;

[1] ἢ added by later MSS. [2] τοῦτο] later MSS. add μὲν. [3] ἑαυτὴν Psellus : αὐτὴν.

[a] *Cf.* Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 234 ; Oppian, *Hal.* v. 638 ff. ; Plutarch, *De Primo Frigido*, 950 B, where a different explanation is given : the oil contains much air (hence its lightness), which provides the transparency.

[b] *Cf. Quaest. Conviv.* 696 A, 702 B. This explanation applies particularly to the submarine phenomenon. The " density " of the oil means that it has no interstices, into which the sea could enter to mingle with it ; therefore the sea, the earthiness and irregularity of which had provided the impediment to vision, is pushed aside by the oil.

the smoothness so caused, makes no impression and raises no swell ?

Or does this plausibly explain the external phenomena only ? They say that when divers take oil into their mouths and blow it out in the depths,[a] they get illumination and can see through the water. Surely it is impossible to adduce slipping of the wind as the cause there ? Consider then whether the oil does not by reason of its density push and force aside the sea, which is earthy and irregular [b] : subsequently when it flows back to its former position and draws together, intermediate passages are left in it, which offer transparency and clear visibility to the organs of sight.

Or does the air that is mixed with the sea, although naturally full of light, owing to its warmth, become uneven and shadowy if disturbed ? [c] So when the oil with its density smoothes out the unevenness of surface, the air regains its regularity and its transparency.

XIII

Why do fishermen's nets rot more in winter than in summer, although other things are more affected in this way in summer ?

[c] This explanation appears to apply primarily to the effect of oil upon the surface (ἐπιλεαίνῃ) ; its " density " being resistant to the swelling of waves, it forces the sea, and with the sea the contained air, to " lie flat " ; smooth water (and " smooth air ") is more transparent than rough. Psellus appears to have found the sentence obscure, for he rewrites it completely. He agrees, however, with the above interpretation in two points, (*a*) that oil on the surface is meant, (*b*) that " evenness " has to do with flatness.

(915) Πότερον, ὡς Θεόφραστος οἴεται, τῷ ψυχρῷ τὸ θερμὸν ὑποχωροῦν ἀντιπερίσταται καὶ θερμότερα ποιεῖ τὰ ἐν βάθει τῆς θαλάττης, ὥσπερ τῆς γῆς; διὸ καὶ τὰ πηγαῖα τῶν ὑδάτων χλιαρώτερα τοῦ χειμῶνός εἰσι[1] καὶ μᾶλλον ἀτμίζουσιν αἱ λίμναι καὶ οἱ ποταμοί· κατακλείεται γὰρ εἰς βάθος ἡ θερμότης ὑπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ κρατήσαντος.

Ἢ σῆψις μὲν οὐκ ἔστι τῶν δικτύων, ὅταν δὲ φρίξῃ καὶ παγῇ διὰ τὸ ψῦχος ἀναξηραινόμενα, καὶ[2] θρυ-
C πτόμενα μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος, σήψει τι[3] καὶ μυδήσει πάσχει παραπλήσιον; καὶ γὰρ πονεῖ μᾶλλον ἐν κρύει, καθάπερ τὰ νεῦρα συντεινόμενα, καὶ[4] σπαράττεται πλεονάκις, ἐκταραττομένης διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα τῆς θαλάττης· διὸ καὶ στύφουσιν αὐτὰ ταῖς βαφαῖς καὶ πυκνοῦσι, φοβούμενοι τὰς ἀναλύσεις, ἐπεὶ μὴ βαφέντα μηδὲ χρισθέντα μᾶλλον ἂν ἐλάνθανε τοὺς ἰχθῦς· ἐνάερον γὰρ τὸ τοῦ λίνου χρῶμα καὶ ἀπατηλὸν ἐν θαλάττῃ.

ΙΔ

Διὰ τί Δωριεῖς εὔχονται κακὴν χόρτου συγκομιδήν;

Ἢ κακῶς μὲν συγκομίζεται χόρτος ὑόμενος; κόπτεται γὰρ οὐ ξηρὸς ἀλλὰ χλωρός, ὥστε σήπεται

[1] εἰσι] ἐστι Bernardakis.
[2] ? omit καὶ or read ψῦχος, ἀναξαινόμενα καὶ, *cf.* 610 D (Reiske); but see [Aristotle], *De Col.* 794 b 29-34.
[3] τι Pohlenz : τινὶ.
[4] καὶ added by F. H. S.

Is it, as Theophrastus supposes,[a] that the warmth, retreating before the cold, is concentrated and makes the depths of the sea warmer, like the interior of the earth ?[b] Hence spring-waters, too, are warmer in the winter, and pools and rivers exhale more vapour,[c] because the warmth is shut up in the depths by the cold, which has overcome it.

Or is it that the nets do not rot, but when they become stiff and hard, being desiccated by the cold, are also more frayed by the waves and suffer much as they would by rotting and clammy decay ? They are in fact subject to more wear in frosty weather, being strained, like cords made of sinew, and they are torn more frequently, as the sea is rough through the wintry weather. That is indeed the reason why men shrink them by the use of dyes and so make them more solid, fearing that they will come to pieces ; they would be less noticed by the fish if they were not dyed or tinted, since the natural colour of the net is like that of air and is deceptive in the sea.

XIV

Why do the people of Doris [d] pray for a bad bringing in of hay ?

Is this the answer ? Hay is badly brought in if it is rained on ; it is cut when green, not when dry, so

[a] Frag. 163 Wimmer.
[b] *Cf.* Diels-Kranz, *Frag. der Vorsok.* i. 41 A 11.
[c] *Cf.* Aristotle, *Meteorologica*, 348 b 2 ; Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.* ii. 25 ; Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* vi. 13. 2 (=Strato, fr. 89 Wehrli).
[d] It is more probable that this means the inhabitants of Doris, a small state between Thessaly and Boeotia, than all the Doric-speaking Greeks.

(915)
D ταχὺ διάβροχος γενόμενος· ὑόμενος δὲ πρὸ τοῦ θέρους ὁ σῖτος βοηθεῖται πρὸς τὰ θερμὰ καὶ νότια πνεύματα· ταῦτα γὰρ οὐκ ἐᾷ πυκνωθῆναι συνιστάμενον ἐν τῷ στάχυι τὸν καρπόν, ἀλλ' ἐξίστησι καὶ διαχεῖ[1] τῇ θερμότητι τὴν πῆξιν, ἂν μὴ βεβρεγμένης τῆς γῆς ὑγρότης παραμένῃ ψύχουσα καὶ νοτίζουσα τὸν στάχυν.

IE

Διὰ τί πυροφόρος ἡ πίων καὶ βαθεῖα χώρα, κριθοφόρος δὲ μᾶλλον ἡ λεπτόγεως;

Ἢ ὅτι τῶν σπερμάτων τὰ ἰσχυρὰ πλείονος τροφῆς δεῖται τὰ δ' ἀσθενῆ λεπτῆς καὶ ἐλαφρᾶς, ἀσθενέστερον δ' ἡ κριθὴ καὶ μανότερον[2]· ὅθεν οὐ φέρει τὴν πολλὴν τροφὴν καὶ βαρεῖαν; μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τῷ
E λόγῳ τούτῳ τοῦ[3] πυροῦ τὸν τρίμηνον ἐν τοῖς ὑποξήροις φύεσθαι βέλτιον, ἀνοστότερον ὄντα καὶ τροφῆς ἐλάττονος δεόμενον· διὸ καὶ συντελεῖται τάχιον.

IS

Διὰ τί λέγεται, " σῖτον ἐν πηλῷ φύτευε,[4] τὴν δὲ κριθὴν ἐν κόνει " ;

Πότερον, ὡς εἰρήκαμεν, ὁ μὲν δύναται πλείονος τροφῆς κατακρατεῖν ἡ δ' οὐ φέρει τὸ πολὺ καὶ κατακλύζον;

Ἢ πυκνὸς ὢν ὁ πυρὸς καὶ ξυλώδης φύεται βέλ-

[1] διαχεῖ Bernardakis : διαχέει *a* Psellus.
[2] μανότερον Duebner : μανώτερον.
[3] τοῦ added by F. H. S. (or read τοῦ for τούτῳ).
[4] φύτευε Bergk : φυτεύετε. φυτεύειν one late MS.

that it rots quickly if it gets soaked. But a fall of rain on the wheat and barley before the summer helps against the hot southerly winds, which do not allow the grain to grow firm as it forms in the ear, but by their warmth inhibit or reverse the hardening process, unless the earth has been soaked so that there is lasting moisture to keep the ears cool and damp.

XV

Why does rich deep soil bear wheat, while thin soils are better for barley ? [a]

Is it because strong seeds need more plentiful food, while weak ones need thin light nourishment, and barley is weaker and more open in texture than wheat, so that it will not stand plentiful or heavy food ? This suggestion is supported by the fact that the three-month variety of wheat,[b] which gives a lower yield and so needs less food, grows better in dryish soils. For the same reason it also matures sooner.

XVI

Why is there a saying, " Plant wheat in mud, but barley plant in dust " ? [c]

Is it, as I have already said, that wheat can master more food, while barley will not stand a plenty that swamps it ?

Or does wheat, being solid and woody, grow better

[a] *Cf.* Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* viii. 9. 1.
[b] Spring-sown wheat, taking 3 months from sowing to harvest, see Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* viii. i. 4.
[c] Diehl, *Anth. Lyrica*, ii, *Carmina Popularia*, C 16 ; *cf.* Cato, *De Agricultura*, 34-35.

(915) τιον ἐν ὑγρῷ μαλαττόμενος καὶ χαλώμενος,[1] τῇ δὲ κριθῇ διὰ μανότητα σύμφορον ἐν ἀρχῇ τὸ ξηρότερον;

Ἢ διὰ θερμότητα σύμμετρος καὶ ἀβλαβὴς ἡ κρᾶσις, ψυχρότερον δ' ἡ[2] κριθή;

Ἢ φοβοῦνται τῶν πυρῶν ἐν ξηρῷ τριβὴν[3] διὰ
F τοὺς μύρμηκας, εὐθὺς γὰρ ἐπιτίθενται· τὰς δὲ κριθὰς ἧττον φέρονται, δυσβάστακτοι γάρ εἰσι καὶ δυσπαρακόμιστοι διὰ μέγεθος;

IZ

Διὰ τί τῶν ἀρρένων ἵππων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν θηλειῶν τὰς τρίχας εἰς τὴν ὁρμιὰν λαμβάνουσι;

Πότερον, ὡς τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ ἄρρεν τοῦ θήλεος μέρεσι, καὶ ταῖς θριξὶν εὐτονώτερόν ἐστιν;

916 Ἢ μᾶλλον διὰ τὸ οὖρον οἴονται τὰς τρίχας τῶν θηλειῶν βρεχομένας γίνεσθαι χείρονας;

IH

Διὰ τί τευθὶς φαινομένη σημεῖόν ἐστι μεγάλου χειμῶνος;

[1] χαλώμενος, *cf.* 967 D] χυλούμενος Doehner, with later redactions of Psellus, *cf.* 700 B, where, however, perhaps χάλασιν should be read for χύλωσιν.

[2] δ' ἡ late mss.: δὲ.

[3] τῶν πυρῶν . . . τριβὴν F. H. S.: τὸν πυρὸν . . . τρίβειν (σπείρειν Amyot, ? θερίζειν Pohlenz).

[a] *Cf.* Theophrastus, *De Causis Plant.* ii. 9. 7: εἴ τις ἑτέρα χώρα τοιαύτην ἔχει τὴν κρᾶσιν ὥστε σύμμετρον ἐκδιδόναι τὴν τροφήν. Wheat, being warm (*cf. Quaest. Conviv.* 697 c), welcomes the coldness of a wet soil (*cf. ibid.* 648 c: φιλόθερμόν ἐστι τὸ ψυχρὸν καὶ φιλόψυχρον τὸ θερμόν). For the coldness of barley *cf.* Hippocrates, Περὶ διαίτης, 40.

[b] The preference of ants for wheat is referred to also by Michael Glycas, *Annales*, i, p. 62 (118 Bekker): ὁ μύρμηξ ἐπὶ τὸν στάχυν ἀνερχόμενος ὀσφραίνεται, καὶ ἐὰν κριθή, φεύγει ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ σίτου στάχυν ἔρχεται.

[c] *Cf. De Sollertia Animalium*, 977 A. The hairs of the tail are in question.

[d] *Loligo vulgaris*, D'A. W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes*, p. 260.

in damp conditions, where it becomes softer and less firm, while drier conditions at the start are beneficial to barley, because of its more open texture ?

Or is the composition ⟨of the damp soil⟩ suitably proportioned and harmless to the wheat because of ⟨the wheat's⟩ warmth, while barley is colder ? [a]

Or are people afraid of damage to their wheat in dry ground due to the ants which immediately attack it, whereas they are less given to plundering barley, the grains being difficult to lift and transport because of their size ? [b]

XVII

Why do people take the hairs of male horses rather than mares to make fishing-lines ? [c]

Is it the case that the male has more strength than the female in the hairs as well as in other parts ?

Or rather is it believed that the mares' hairs become inferior through being wetted by their staling ?

XVIII

Why does the appearance of the calamary [d] herald a great storm ?

(916) Ἢ πάντα φύσει τὰ μαλάκια δύσριγα διὰ γυμνότητα τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ ψιλότητα, μήτ' ὀστράκῳ μήτε δέρματι μήτε λεπίδι σκεπομένης ἀλλ' ἐντὸς ἐχούσης τὸ σκληρὸν καὶ ὀστεῶδες, διὸ καὶ κέκληται μαλάκια; ταχὺ δὴ προαισθάνεται δι' εὐπάθειαν τοῦ χειμῶνος· ὅθεν ὁ μὲν πολύπους εἰς γῆν ἀνατρέχει[1] καὶ τῶν πετριδίων ἀντιλαμβανόμενος σημεῖόν ἐστι
B πνεύματος ὅσον οὔπω παρόντος, ἡ δὲ τευθὶς ἐξάλλεται, φεύγουσα τὸ ψῦχος καὶ τὴν ἐν βάθει ταραχὴν τῆς θαλάττης· καὶ γὰρ ἔχει μάλιστα τῶν μαλακίων εὔθρυπτον καὶ ἁπαλὸν τὸ σαρκῶδες.

ΙΘ

Διὰ τί τὴν χρόαν[2] ὁ πολύπους ἐξαλλάττει;

Πότερον, ὡς Θεόφραστος ᾤετο, δειλόν ἐστι φύσει ζῷον; ὅταν οὖν ταραχθῇ, τρεπόμενον τῷ πνεύματι συμμεταβάλλει τὸ χρῶμα, καθάπερ ἄνθρωπος· διὸ καὶ λέλεκται

τοῦ μὲν γάρ τε κακοῦ τρέπεται χρώς.

[1] ἀνατρέχει] ? ἀνατρέχων.
[2] χρόαν Bernardakis : χροιὰν.

[a] *i.e.* soft things.
[b] *Cf.* Aelian, *Historia Animalium*, v. 41. Perhaps emend to mean "if the octopus beats a retreat to land and grasps small rocks, that is a sign, etc."
[c] *Cf.* Oppian, *Hal.* i. 432 (to escape its enemies), iii. 166; Aelian, *Historia Animalium*, ix. 52; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ix. 84. The calamary is also a sign of storm in a doubtful passage of Theophrastus (?), *Tempest.* 40.
[d] Its bony processes are smaller than those of the cuttlefish but not than those of the octopus. Aristotle says (*De Part. Animal.* 678 b 32) that its body is softer.

Are we to say that all cephalopods (*malacia*) [a] are naturally susceptible to cold because of the bareness and nakedness of their flesh, which is not covered by any shell, skin, or scale, but has its hard and bony members inside (this is indeed the reason why they are named *malacia*)? So they quickly become aware of the impending storm, owing to their sensitiveness. Hence the octopus beats a retreat to the land and, grasping small rocks, is a sign of an imminent gale,[b] while the calamary leaps out of the sea, in an attempt to escape the cold and the disturbance in the depths [c]: it has, in fact, fleshy parts that are more easily broken and more tender than those of any other cephalopod.[d]

XIX

Why does the octopus change its colour?

Is it, as Theophrastus imagined,[e] that it is by nature a cowardly animal? So when it is agitated, it undergoes a change by the action of its *pneuma* [f] and simultaneously alters its colour, just as a human being does—hence the phrase

For the coward's colour changes.[g]

[e] Frag. 188 Wimmer. On the origins of this question and the answers here given see introd. p. 136.
[f] Theophrastus follows the Aristotelian view according to which an animal's ψυχή, "soul," imparts movement and change to its body by an intermediate πνεῦμα, a word for which there is no satisfactory English equivalent. *Pneuma* is air in movement, similar to the breath in the lungs, which has the same name. Fear is an event in the soul of the octopus; the change of colour is a bodily change; the *pneuma* set in motion by the soul causes the change in the body.
[g] Homer, *Iliad*, xiii. 279.

(916) Ἢ τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν μεταβολὴν πιθανῶς λέλεκται πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐξομοίωσιν οὐχ ἱκανῶς; μεταβάλλει γὰρ οὕτως, ὥστε τὴν χρόαν αἷς ἂν πλησιάζῃ πέτραις ὁμοιοῦν· πρὸς ὃ καὶ Πίνδαρος ἐποίησε

> ποντίου θηρὸς[1] χρωτὶ μάλιστα νόον
> C προσφέρων[2] πάσαις πολίεσσιν ὁμίλει,[3]

καὶ Θέογνις

> πουλύποδος νόον ἴσχε πολυχρόου, ὃς ποτὶ πέτρῃ,
> τῇ προσομιλήσῃ,[4] τοῖος ἰδεῖν ἐφάνη.

τοῦτο δὴ καὶ τοὺς πανουργίᾳ καὶ δεινότητι ὑπερφέροντας ἔχειν τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα λέγουσιν, ὡς ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαθεῖν καὶ διαφυγεῖν τοῖς[5] πλησίον ἑαυτοὺς ἀεὶ[6] ἀπεικάζειν ***[7] πολύποδι; ἢ καθάπερ ἐσθῆτι τῇ χρόᾳ νομίζουσι χρῆσθαι, ῥᾳδίως οὕτως ᾗ βούλεται μετενδυόμενον;

Ἆρ' οὖν τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς ἐνδίδωσι τοῦ πάθους δείσας, τὰ δὲ κύρια τῆς αἰτίας ἐν ἄλλοις ἐστί;
D σκόπει δή, κατ' Ἐμπεδοκλέα γνοὺς ὅτι

> πάντων εἰσὶν ἀπορροαὶ ὅσσ' ἐγένοντο·

οὐ γὰρ ζῴων μόνον οὐδὲ φυτῶν οὐδὲ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίθων ἅπεισιν ἐνδελεχῶς πολλὰ ῥεύματα καὶ χαλκοῦ καὶ σιδήρου· καὶ γὰρ φθείρεται

[1] θηρὸς] θηρὸς πετραίου Pindar.
[2] προσφέρων Stephanus : προφέρων.
[3] ὁμίλει Pindar : ὁμιλεῖ.
[4] προσομιλήσῃ Duebner : προσομιλήσει. περ ὁμιλήσῃ 978 E.
[5] τοῖς Hartman : τοὺς.
[6] ἀεὶ perhaps rightly deleted by Pohlenz as a dittography.

Or is this, although a plausible explanation of the *change*, insufficient to account for the *assimilation* of the colour ? For the octopus changes in such a way as to make its colour similar to that of whatever rocks it is close to. It was with reference to this that Pindar wrote

> Matching most in mind the sea-beast's complexion,
> Take in every town your place,[a]

and Theognis

> Acquire the mind of the many-coloured octopus,
> That looks to the eye like the rock on which it settles.[b]

Men say, of course, that outstandingly crafty and cunning persons also make this their practice ; in order to avoid being discovered or noticed they always model themselves on their neighbours. ⟨But what do they suppose to be the mechanism of change⟩ in the octopus ? Or do they imagine that it treats its colour like a garment, just easily making a change of clothes as it wishes ?

Is the truth this, that although the creature itself initiates the effect by feeling fright, the determining factor in the causation lies elsewhere ? Just apply to the consideration of the problem the recognition that there are, as Empedocles wrote, " emanations from all things that ever were." [c] Many streams of particles continuously leave not only animals and plants, earth and sea, but also stones and bronze and iron.

[a] Frag. 43. Quoted again, *De Sollertia Animalium*, 978 E.
[b] 215-216. Quoted again, *De Sollertia Animalium*, 978 E and *De Amicorum Multitudine*, 96 F.
[c] Diels-Kranz, *Frag. der Vorsokr.* i. 31 B 89.

[7] Lacuna marked by F. H. S.

(916) πάντα καὶ ὄδωδε τῷ ῥεῖν ἀεί τι καὶ φέρεσθαι[1] συνεχῶς· καὶ γὰρ ἕλξεις[2] ἢ ἐπιπηδήσεις ποιοῦσι ταῖς ἀπορροίαις, οἱ μὲν ἐμπλοκὰς αὐτῶν οἱ δὲ πληγὰς οἱ δ' ὥσεις τινὰς καὶ περιελεύσεις[3] ὑποτιθέμενοι. μάλιστα δὲ τῶν παράλων πετρῶν ἐπιρραινομένων καὶ ψηχομένων[4] ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάττης ἀπιέναι μέρη καὶ θραύσματα πολλὰ καὶ λεπτὰ ⟨νομιστέον⟩
E συνεχῶς, ἃ τ⟨οῖς μὲν ἄλ⟩λοις οὐ προσί⟨σχεται⟩ σώμα⟨σιν⟩ ἀλλὰ λανθάνει[5] περιολισθάνοντα τῶν πυκνοτέρους ἐχόντων πόρους ἢ διεκθέοντα τῶν μανοτέρους.[6] ὁ δὲ πολύπους τήν τε σάρκα προσιδεῖν αὐτόθεν ἀνθρηνιώδης καὶ πολύπορος καὶ δεκτικὸς ἀπορροιῶν ἐστιν, ὅταν δὲ δείσῃ, τῷ πνεύματι τρεπόμενος καὶ τρέπων οἷον ἔσφιγξε τὸ σῶμα καὶ συνήγαγεν, ὥστε προσδέχεσθαι καὶ στέγειν ἐπιπολῆς τὰς τῶν ἐγγὺς ἀπορροίας. καὶ γὰρ ἡ τραχύτης μετὰ τῆς μαλακότητος ἕδρας[7] παρέχουσα τοῖς ἐπιφερομένοις μέρεσι, μὴ σκεδαννυμένοις ἀλλ'

[1] φέρεσθαι Wyttenbach : φθείρεσθαι.
[2] ἕλξεις] in *a* the λ is in an erasure of 3 letters.
[3] περιελεύσεις] περιελάσεις Doehner.
[4] ψηχομένων Wyttenbach : ψυχομένων.
[5] The writer of *a* left a large space after λεπτὰ, beginning a new line with λανθάνει. Planudes made supplements in his own hand as follows (a dot indicates space for one letter): (λεπτὰ).....συνεχῶς ἀτ.....λοις οὐ προσε..... σῶμα ἀλλὰ (λανθάνει), *cf.* Wegehaupt, *Philologus*, lxxiii (1914–1916), p. 247. The text printed is mostly due to Anon. 3 (Turnebus).
[6] μανοτέρους Duebner : μανωτέρους.
[7] ἕδρας F. H. S., *cf.* 1005 D : ἕλικας.

[a] *Cf.* Theophrastus, *De Sensu*, c. 20 (of Empedocles): εἰ ἡ φθίσις διὰ τὴν ἀπορροήν . . . συμβαίνει δὲ καὶ τὰς ὀσμὰς ἀπορροῇ γίνεσθαι.

Indeed everything that decays or gives off a smell does so because something is always streaming away and leaving it.[a] (Furthermore, it is by emanations that men explain the phenomena of attraction or jumping ⟨seen in magnetism⟩, some supposing "entanglements," others "impacts," others "impulsions" and "circumventions.")[b] Now it is particularly likely that many minute particles are continually detached from rocks by the sea-shore as they are sprayed and fretted by the sea; these fragments do not adhere to the bodies of any animal but the octopus: they either slip off the surface of those that have narrower pores or pass quickly through those that have more open ones, and in neither case can they be seen. The octopus, however, has a flesh which is obviously honeycombed in appearance and full of pores and so receptive of emanations; when it is frightened, it undergoes a change in its *pneuma* and effects one by it,[c] tightening, so to speak, and contracting its body, so as to harbour on its surface the emanations from near-by objects without allowing them to penetrate it.[d] And indeed its combination of roughness with softness, by offering places of lodgement to the particles that settle on it, which do not disperse but

[b] A piece of iron attracted to a magnet may be regarded as pulled to it or jumping to it (*cf. Quaest. Plat.* 1005 B). Empedocles' explanation of magnetic attraction (Diels-Kranz, *Frag. der Vorsokr.* i. 31 A 89) was that emanations from the magnet push the air away from the pores in the iron, releasing emanations which flow to the magnet and draw the iron with them. Democritus (Diels-Kranz, ii. 68 A 165) and Epicurus (Usener, *Epicurea*, p. 208) supposed it to be due to some entanglement of emanations.

[c] *Cf. De Sera Numinis Vindicta*, 565 C: τῆς ψυχῆς τρεπομένης ὑπὸ τῶν παθῶν καὶ τρεπούσης τὸ σῶμα.

[d] *Cf. De Amicorum Multitudine*, 96 F.

(916) ἀθροιζομένοις καὶ προσμένουσι, συγχρώ⟨ζεσθαι δί-
F δωσι⟩ τὴν ἐπιφά⟨νειαν εἰς ὁμοιό⟩τητα ⟨τῶν πε-
τρῶν⟩.[1] τεκμήριον δὲ τῆς αἰτίας μέγα τὸ μήτε τοῦτον
πᾶσιν[2] ἐξομοιοῦσθαι τοῖς πλησίον μήτε τὸν χαμαι-
λέοντα τοῖς λευκοῖς χρώμασιν, ἀλλὰ μόνοις ἑκά-
τερον, ὧν ταῖς ἀπορροίαις πόρους συμμέτρους
ἔχουσιν.

K

Διὰ τίν' αἰτίαν τὸ τῶν ἀγρίων συῶν δάκρυον ἡδὺ
τὸ δὲ τῶν ἐλάφων ἁλμυρόν ἐστι καὶ φαῦλον;

917 Αἰτία δὲ θερμότης καὶ ψυχρότης τούτων, καὶ ψυ-
χρὸν μὲν ὁ ἔλαφος περίθερμον δὲ καὶ πυρῶδες ὁ
σῦς· ὅθεν τὸ μὲν φεύγει τὸ δ' ἀμύνεται τοὺς ἐπι-
όντας, ὅτε καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὸν θυμὸν ἐκβάλλει τὸ
δάκρυον· πολλῆς γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ ὄμματα θερμότητος
φερομένης, ὡς εἴρηται

φρίξας εὖ λοφιήν, πῦρ ὀφθαλμοῖσι δεδορκώς,

γλυκὺ γίνεται τὸ ἀποτηκόμενον.

Ἔνιοι δέ φασιν, ὥσπερ γάλακτος ὀρρὸν[3] τοῦ
αἵματος ταραχθέντος ἐκκρούεσθαι τὸ δάκρυον, ὡς
Ἐμπεδοκλῆς. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τραχὺ[4] καὶ μέλαν τὸ
τῶν κάπρων αἷμα διὰ θερμότητα λεπτὸν δὲ καὶ

[1] The writer of *a* left a space for 17-18 letters between *σὺν χρῶ* and *τεκμήριον*, which begins a line. Planudes added (*χρῶ*)..... *τὴν ἐπὶ φα...τητα*, but *τητα* is in the margin. *ἐπιφάνειαν* later MSS., *εἰς ὁμοιότητα* Anon. (Amyot). *συγχρώζεσθαι δίδωσι* and *τῶν πετρῶν* F. H. S. *σύγχρουν ἀπεργάζεται τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῖς ἐγγύτατα* Wyttenbach.

[2] *πᾶσιν* Jannot: *πάσχειν*. [3] *ὄρρον a* corr.: *ὄρον*.

[4] *τραχὺ*] *παχὺ* Wyttenbach, *cf.* Aristotle, *Meteor.* 384 a 14, 26, *De Part. Animal.* 648 a 3.

collect and remain in position, causes its surface to be coloured so as to resemble the rocks. A strong piece of evidence in favour of this explanation is that this creature does not take on a likeness to all neighbouring objects any more than the chamaeleon does to pale colours[a]: both take a likeness to those things only with whose emanations their pores are commensurate.

XX

For what reason are the tears of wild boars sweet while those of deer are salty and ordinary?[b]

Heat and cold are the cause of these facts: the deer is a cold creature and the boar a very hot and fiery one[c]; hence the former runs away from those that attack it, while the latter defends itself against them, and it is then above all that it sheds its tears in rage. A great quantity of heat then passes into its eyes—

Raising the bristles of his back, glancing fire from his eyes,[d]

as it has been put—and the moisture that melts from the eye becomes sweet.[e]

But some, for example Empedocles,[f] say that tears are expelled from the blood when it is agitated, just as whey is from milk. Now as the blood of boars is rough and dark-coloured because of their heat, while

[a] Nor to red, Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* viii. 122.

[b] At *Quaest. Conviv.* 700 F this question is mentioned as being notoriously unsolved.

[c] *Cf.* Xenophon, *Cynegeticus*, x. 17, who says that the boar singes the hair of dogs that attack it.

[d] Homer, *Odyssey*, xix. 446.

[e] *Cf.* 913 B above for the idea that heat destroys salt.

[f] Diels-Kranz, *Frag. der Vorsok.* i. 31 A 78.

(917) B ὑδαρὲς τὸ τῶν ἐλάφων, εἰκότως καὶ τὸ ἀποκρινόμενον ἐν τοῖς θυμοῖς καὶ τοῖς φόβοις ἑκατέρου τοιοῦτον.

ΚΑ

Διὰ τί τῶν ὑῶν αἱ μὲν ἥμεροι πλεονάκις τίκτουσι καὶ κατ' ἄλλον ἄλλαι χρόνον, αἱ δ' ἄγριαι καὶ ἅπαξ καὶ περὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἅπασαι σχεδὸν ἡμέρας; αὗται δ' εἰσὶν ἀρχομένου θέρους· διὸ καὶ λέλεκται

μηκέτι νυκτὸς ὕειν, ἣ κεν τέκῃ ἀγροτέρη[1] σῦς.

Ἢ διὰ πλῆθος τροφῆς, ὡς[2] ὄντως " ἐν πλησμονῇ Κύπρις "; ἀφθονία γὰρ τροφῆς τὸ γόνιμον περίττωμα ποιεῖ καὶ φυτοῖς καὶ ζῴοις· αἱ μὲν οὖν ἄγριαι δι' αὑτῶν καὶ μετὰ φόβου τὴν τροφὴν ζητοῦσι, ταῖς δ' ἡμέροις ὑπάρχει διὰ παντὸς ἡ μὲν αὐτοφυὴς ἡ δ' ἐκ παρασκευῆς.

C Ἢ τὸ τῆς σχολῆς καὶ ἀσχολίας ἅμα συνημμένον;[3] αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀργοῦσι, μὴ βουλόμεναι πόρρω πλανᾶ-

[1] ἀγροτέρη later MSS. : ἀγροτέρα.
[2] ὡς added by F. H. S., alii alia.
[3] συνημμένον F. H. S. : συμμένον. συμβαῖνον one late MS., edd.

[a] Aristotle, *Meteorologica*, 384 a 26 says that the blood of deer is cold and watery; that of boars is fibrous and coagulates (*De Part. Animal.* 651 a 2).

[b] Or " be like its blood in quality."

[c] Does Plutarch mean that they farrow once only in their life or once a year? The latter is the view of Michael Glycas, *Annales*, i, p. 62 (119 Bekker) and of [Aristotle], *Problemata Inedita*, ii. 152 Bussemaker. It is unlikely that Plutarch believed that domesticated sows farrow several times a year: according to Glycas they have two litters, and it is only by very early weaning that modern pig-keepers obtain three. But [Aristotle] also uses the word πλεονάκις of the domestic sow with reference to the annual number of litters (ii. 141), so

that of deer is thin and watery,[a] it is reasonable that the secretion from each animal in its rages or fears should also be such as it is.[b]

XXI

Why do domesticated sows farrow more than once and some at one season, others at another, whereas wild sows farrow once only and almost all during the same period of days?[c] This period is at the beginning of the summer, whence the verse

No longer to rain on the night when the wild sow farrows.[d]

Are we to say that it is due to a plentiful supply of food, it being really true that " in surfeit Love is found "?[e] It is abundance of food that produces the generative residue both in plants and in animals. Now wild sows search for their food for themselves, and that in fear, while domestic sows have it perpetually at hand, in part growing naturally, and in part prepared for them.

Or ⟨should we adduce⟩ the effect of idleness or constant occupation in simultaneous association with the cause just suggested? Domestic sows are lazy, with

that it must be capable of meaning merely " more than once."

[d] R. Strömberg, *Greek Proverbs*, p. 91. Author unknown; possibly the line quoted at *De Primo Frigido*, 949 B, is from the same source. Plutarch does nothing to answer the second half of his question, namely why all the wild sows farrow at the same time.

[e] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Euripides, frag. 895 (ἐν πλησμονῇ τοι Κύπρις, ἐν πεινῶντι δ' οὔ), cited again at *De Tuenda Sanitate*, 126 C. The words are quoted in Ps.-Aristotle, *Problemata*, 896 a 24, with reference to this problem of the wild sow's relative infertility.

(917) σθαι τῶν συφορβῶν, αἱ δ' ὀρειβατοῦσαι καὶ περιθέουσαι τὴν τροφὴν διαφοροῦσι καὶ καταναλίσκουσιν εἰς τὸ σῶμα πᾶσαν, ὥστε διὰ[1] τὸ ἀεὶ συντείνειν[2] μὴ γίνεσθαι περίττωμα.

Ἢ καὶ τὸ συντρέφεσθαι καὶ συναγελάζεσθαι τὰ θήλεα τοῖς ἄρρεσιν ἀνάμνησιν ποιεῖ τῶν ἀφροδισίων καὶ συνεκκαλεῖται τὴν ὄρεξιν (ὡς ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἐποίησε

τῷ δ' ἐπὶ καὶ πόθος εἶσι[3] δι' ὄψιος[4] ἀμμιμνήσκων[5]),

ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀγρίοις, ἀποτρόφοις οὖσιν ἀλλήλων, τὸ ἄστοργον καὶ δυσεπίμικτον ἀμβλύνει καὶ ἀνασβέννυσι[6] τὰς ὁρμάς;

Ἢ καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπ' Ἀριστοτέλους ἀληθές
D ἐστιν, ὅτι "χλούνην" Ὅμηρος ὠνόμασε σῦν τὸν μόνορχιν;[7] τῶν γὰρ πλείστων φησὶ προσκνωμένων τοῖς στελέχεσι θρύπτεσθαι τοὺς ὄρχεις.

[1] διὰ later MSS. : ἢ διὰ.
[2] συντείνειν Doehner : συνεῖναι ἢ. ? ὥστε μὴ γίνεσθαι περίττωμα. ἢ διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ συνεῖναι καὶ τὸ συντρέφεσθαι κτλ. (after Wyttenbach).
[3] δ' ἐπὶ. . . . εἶσι Karsten : δέ τι. . . εἶτε.
[4] δι' ὄψιος Wyttenbach (ὄψεος Anon. (Amyot)) : διὰ πέψεως.
[5] ἀμμιμνήσκων Diels : ἀμμίσγων.
[6] ἀνασβέννυσι] ἀποσβέννυσι Bernardakis. ? ἐναποσβέννυσι Hubert.
[7] μόνορχιν some later MSS. : μονόρχην.

no desire to wander far from their swineherds, whereas the wild ones climb up and down mountain-sides and run about, thus dissipating the whole of their food and using it up entirely on maintaining the body, so that as a result of their continual exertions no residue is formed.

Or does the further fact that the females are fed and herded along with the males remind them of sex, and provoke desire on both sides (so Empedocles wrote, referring to human beings,

And longing will come upon him, reminded as he sees)?[a]

In wild pigs, on the other hand, which feed apart from one another, unsociability and lack of affection dull and extinguish their impulses.

Or is what Aristotle says also true, that Homer[b] gives the name of *chlounês* to the boar that has only one testicle?[c] He states that the testicles of most get crushed through their scratching themselves on tree-stumps.

[a] Diels-Kranz, *Frag. der Vorsok.* i. 31 B 64. The restoration of the text is uncertain.
[b] Homer, *Iliad*, ix. 539, interpreted by Aristotle, *Historia Animal.* 578 a 33, who explains that young boars are liable to a disease that causes itching of the testicles, which they consequently damage by scratching on tree-stumps. This passage is used by [Aristotle], *Problemata Inedita*, ii. 142 Bussemaker, to answer a different question, namely why many wild boars are fierce. Other interpretations in antiquity of χλούνης were numerous, *cf.* scholia and Eustathius *ad loc.*
[c] Aristotle does not suggest, as he is made to do here, that only one testicle is destroyed, but uses the word τομίας (castrated). Nor is there any reason why an animal with one testicle should not impregnate the female, *cf.* Aristotle, *De Gen. Animal.* 765 a 23. But the infertility of horses with one testicle is noted in *Corpus Hippiatricorum Graec.* i, p. 78. 15.

(917)

ΚΒ

Διὰ τί τῆς ἄρκτου φασὶ τὴν χεῖρα γλυκυτάτην ἔχειν σάρκα καὶ[1] φαγεῖν ἡδίστην;

Ἢ[2] ὅτι τὰ πέττοντα τὴν τροφὴν μάλιστα τοῦ σώματος παρέχει τὸ κρέας ἥδιστον; πέττει δὲ κάλλιστα τὸ διαπνέον, κινούμενον μάλιστα καὶ συγγυμναζόμενον, ὥσπερ ἡ ἄρκτος τῷ μέρει τούτῳ πλεῖστα κινεῖται· καὶ γὰρ ὡς ποσὶ τοῖς ἐμπροσθίοις βαδίζουσα χρῆται καὶ τρέχουσα καὶ ὡς χερσὶν ἀντιλαμβανομένη.

ΚΓ

E Διὰ τί δυστίβευτος ἡ τοῦ ἔαρος ὥρα;

Πότερον αἱ κύνες, ὥς φησιν Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, "κέρματα[3] θηρείων μελέων μυκτῆρσιν ἐρευνῶσαι" τὰς ἀπορροίας ἀναλαμβάνουσιν, ἃς ἐναπολείπει τὰ θηρία τῇ ὕλῃ, ταύτας δὲ τοῦ ἔαρος ἐξαμαυροῦσι καὶ συγχέουσιν αἱ πλεῖσται τῶν φυτῶν καὶ τῶν ὑλημάτων ὀσμαί, καὶ[4] ὑπὲρ τὴν ἄνθησιν ὑπερχεόμεναι

[1] καὶ late MSS. : δὲ. [2] ἢ added by late MSS.
[3] κέρματα Anon. in Plat. *Theaet.* 70. 48 : κέμματα. τέρματα 520 F.
[4] καὶ added by F. H. S. (αἱ Doehner).

[a] This piece of information about bears, like that in Question xxviii, may be derived from personal knowledge. Although the bear seems not to have been known in Greece proper in Xenophon's day (*Cynegeticus*, xi. 1), it was, perhaps owing to depopulation, re-established in that of Pausanias, who saw young bears near Patras, vii. 18. 12, and reports bears on Parnês, i. 32. 1, on Taÿgetus, iii. 20. 4, and in Arcadia, viii. 23. 9. O. Keller, *Thiere des classischen*

XXII

Why do they say that the bear's paw has the sweetest flesh and the most delicious to eat ? [a]

Are we to say that it is because those parts of the body that most concoct their nourishment provide the most delicious meat ? And that the best concoction is by what transpires through being most in motion and most exercised [b] ; it is an instance that the bear makes more movements with this part than with any other. For it uses its fore-paws as feet when walking or running and as hands when grasping.

XXIII

Why is the season of spring unfavourable for following a trail ?

Is it that the hounds,

With muzzles that track the parings of beast's bodies,

as Empedocles says,[c] pick up the emanations that the animals leave behind them in the brushwood, and that in the spring these are quite obscured or confused by the very many scents from plants and shrubs,[d] that overflow from the blossom ; these blending scents

Altherthums, p. 122, says that bears' paws were a medieval delicacy, unknown (!) to the ancients. In the Finnish epic *Kalevala* " with paws sweet as honey " is a stock epithet for the bear.

[b] The meaning is dubious and the text not above suspicion.

[c] Diels-Kranz, *Frag. der Vorsok.* i. 31 B 101, quoted also *De Curiositate*, 520 F.

[d] *Cf.* Theophrastus, *De Causis Plant.* vi. 20. 4 : τοῦ δ' ἤρος αἱ τῶν ἀνθῶν ὀσμαὶ παρενοχλοῦσι (*sc.* the huntsmen).

(917) καὶ κεραννύμεναι περισπῶσι[1] καὶ διαπλανῶσι τὰς κύνας[2] τῆς τῶν θηρίων ὀσμῆς ἐπιλαβέσθαι; διὸ
F περὶ τὴν Αἴτνην ἐν Σικελίᾳ φασὶ μηδένα κυνηγεῖν· πολὺ γὰρ ἀναφύεσθαι καὶ τεθηλέναι δι' ἔτους ἴον ὀρεινὸν ἐν τοῖς λειμῶσι, καὶ τὸν τόπον εὐωδίαν ἀεὶ κατέχουσαν ἁρπάζειν τὰς τῶν θηρίων ἀναπνοάς.[3] λέγεται δὲ μῦθος, ὡς τὴν Κόρην ἐκεῖθεν ἀνθολογοῦσαν ὁ Πλούτων ἁφαρπάσειε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τιμῶντες καὶ σεβόμενοι τὸ χωρίον ὡς ἄσυλον οὐκ ἐπιτίθενται τοῖς ἐκεῖ νεμομένοις.

ΚΔ

Διὰ τί περὶ τὰς πανσελήνους ἥκιστα ταῖς ἰχνοσκοπίαις ἐπιτυγχάνουσιν;

Ἢ διὰ τὴν εἰρημένην αἰτίαν; δροσοβόλοι γὰρ αἱ
918 πανσέληνοι· διὸ καὶ τὴν δρόσον ὁ Ἀλκμὰν Διὸς θυγατέρα καὶ Σελήνης προσεῖπε ποιήσας

Διὸς θυγάτηρ[4] Ἔρσα τρέφει καὶ Σελάνας.[5]

[1] περισπῶσι F. H. S. : περιποτῶσι. alii alia.
[2] κύνας] ? add μὴ, but see 711 B σφαλείη . . . ἑλέσθαι.
[3] θηρίων ἀναπνοάς] ? θηρώντων or ἀπορροίας.
[4] θυγάτηρ Duebner : θύγατερ.
[5] Σελάνας Bergk, after Hartung : σελάνας δίας, perhaps a correction of σέλα δίας, a misreading of ΣΕΛΑΝΑΣ. The unmetrical δίας is absent from Plutarch's other citations of the line.

[a] This version is somewhat forced. An emendation may be made, to give the meaning " the nostrils of the hunters seize on the fragrance . . ." *Cf.* 647 E : ὀσμαὶ ἁρπαζόμεναι ταῖς ὀσφρήσεσι.

[b] Etna, as the place of the rape of Persephonê (Korê), first appears in Moschus, iii. 128. In the Homeric *Hymn to*

distract and mislead the hounds, which cannot fasten on the scent of the animals ? Hence no one in Sicily, so they say, hunts round Etna, since throughout the year a great quantity of mountain violet grows and flourishes in the meadows, and the fragrance that always possesses the place overpowers the exhalations from the animals.[a] But there is a traditional story that Etna was the scene of Pluto's abduction of Korê while she was gathering flowers,[b] and because of this men honour and reverence that district as a sanctuary, and do not attack the animals that range there.

⟨Or . . .⟩ [c]

XXIV

Why do hunters have least success in following tracks at the time of the full moon ? [d]

Is it for the aforesaid reason ? [e] Full moons precipitate dew, hence Alcman called dew the daughter of Zeus and Selenê in the line

Fed by Dew, daughter of Zeus and Selana.[f]

Demeter, 8, Persephonê gathers νάρκισσοι, but ἴα are mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, v. 3. 2, who, like Ps.-Aristotle, *De Mir. Aus.* 836 b 14, locates their overpowering fragrance near Enna.

[c] At the end of this question an alternative answer, anticipated by the introductory word πότερον, has been lost. One may guess it to have been that dew is frequent in the spring and spoils the scent.

[d] *Cf.* Xenophon, *Cynegeticus*, v. 4 : ἀφανίζει δὲ καὶ ἡ πολλὴ δρόσος καταφέρουσα αὐτά (τὰ ἴχνη) . . . καὶ ἡ σελήνη ἀμαυροῖ τῷ θερμῷ, μάλιστα δ' ὅταν ᾖ πανσέληνος.

[e] The reason has been lost with the end of the previous question.

[f] Frag. 43 Diehl, cited again *Quaest. Conviv.* 659 B and *De Facie*, 940 A.

(918) ἡ γὰρ δρόσος ἀσθενής ἐστι καὶ ἀδρανὴς ὄμβρος, ἀσθενὲς δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς σελήνης θερμόν· ὅθεν ἕλκει μὲν ἀπὸ γῆς ὥσπερ ὁ ἥλιος, ἄγειν δ' εἰς ὕψος μὴ δυναμένη μηδ' ἀναλαμβάνειν μεθίησιν.

ΚΕ

Διὰ τί τὸ δρόσιμον γενόμενον διὰ τοῦ ψύχους δυστίβευτον;

Πότερον ὅτι τὰ θηρία πόρρω τῶν κοιτῶν ὀκνοῦντα προϊέναι διὰ τὸ κρύος οὐ ποιεῖ πολλὰ σημεῖα; διὸ καί φασιν αὐτὰ φείδεσθαι τῶν πλησίον, ὅπως μὴ κακοπαθῇ πλανώμενα μακρὰν τοῦ χει-
B μῶνος ἀλλ' ἀεὶ[1] ἐγγύθεν ἔχῃ νέμεσθαι.

Ἢ δεῖ μὴ μόνον ἔχειν ἴχνη τὸν στιβευόμενον τόπον ἀλλὰ κινεῖν τὴν ὄσφρησιν, κινεῖ[2] δὲ λυόμενα καὶ χαλώμενα μαλακῶς ὑπὸ θερμότητος, ἡ δ' ἄγαν περίψυξις πηγνύουσα τὰς ὀσμὰς οὐκ ἐᾷ ῥεῖν οὐδὲ κινεῖν τὴν αἴσθησιν; ὅθεν καὶ τὰ μύρα καὶ τὸν οἶνον ἧττον ὄζειν ψύχους καὶ χειμῶνος λέγουσιν· ὁ γὰρ ἀὴρ πηγνυμένας[3] ἵστησι τὰς ὀσμὰς ἐν αὑτῷ καὶ οὐκ ἐᾷ ἀναδίδοσθαι.

[1] ἀεὶ] deleted by Benseler.
[2] κινεῖ Stephanus : κινεῖν.
[3] πηγνυμένας F. H. S., *cf.* πηγνύουσα τὰς ὀσμὰς above, and 951 A, αὐτὸν τὸν ἀέρα μηδαμοῦ πηγνύμενον ὁρῶντες : πηγνύμενος.

Dew is a weak and ineffectual rain, and the warmth of the moon is also weak : so the moon draws up moisture from the earth like the sun, but being unable to raise it to a height and to absorb it, lets it fall again.[a]

XXV

Why is ground that has become dewy unfavourable for hunting so long as the cold lasts ? [b]

Is it because the animals are loath to go far from their lairs because of the frost, and so do not leave many traces ? Hence, it is said, they do not ⟨at other times⟩ feed freely near their homes, so that they may always have food available close at hand and avoid the hardships of wandering far afield in the winter.

Or must the ground to be hunted over by tracking not only contain a trail but also affect the sense of smell ? A spoor does this when there is warmth to free and release it gently, whereas excessive chill freezes the scents and does not allow them to flow and affect our perception. That, they say, is why wine and perfumes have less smell in cold weather and in the winter : the air arrests the scents as they become frozen and does not allow them to be given off.

[a] That the moon causes dew is a commonplace, *cf.* Housman on Manilius, iv. 501. Plutarch gives a different explanation of its genesis at *Quaest. Conviv.* 659 B, where he argues that the influence of the moon causes some of the air round the earth to change into water.

[b] The sense of this question is poor ; and dew has nothing to do with the answer. The soundness of the text is doubtful.

(918) **ΚϚ**

Διὰ τί τὰ ζῷα τὰς βοηθούσας δυνάμεις, ὅταν ἐν πάθει γένηται, ζητεῖ καὶ διώκει καὶ χρώμενα πολλάκις ὠφελεῖται; καθάπερ αἱ κύνες ἐσθίουσι πόαν, ἵνα[1] τὴν χολὴν ἐξεμῶσιν· αἱ δ' ὗες ἐπὶ τοὺς ποτα-
C μίους καρκίνους φέρονται, βοηθοῦνται γὰρ ἐσθίουσαι πρὸς κεφαλαλγίαν· ἡ δὲ χελώνη φαγοῦσα τὴν σάρκα τοῦ ἔχεως ὀρίγανον ἐπεσθίει· τὴν δ' ἄρκτον λέγουσιν ἀσωμένην[2] τοὺς μύρμηκας ἀναλαμβάνειν τῇ γλώττῃ καὶ καταπίνουσαν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. τούτων δ' οὔτε διδασκαλία ποθὲν οὔτε[3] πεῖρα καὶ περίπτωσις γέγονεν αὐτοῖς.

Πότερον οὖν,[4] ὥσπερ τὰ κηρία τὴν μέλιτταν τῇ ὀσμῇ καὶ τὰ κενέβρεια[5] τὸν γῦπα κινεῖ καὶ προσάγεται πόρρωθεν, οὕτως[6] καὶ σῦς οἱ καρκίνοι καὶ τὴν χελώνην ἡ ὀρίγανος, αἱ δὲ μυρμηκιαὶ τὴν ἄρκτον ὀσμαῖς καὶ ῥεύμασι προσφερέσι καὶ οἰκείοις ἕλκου-
D σιν, οὐ λογισμῷ[7] τοῦ συμφέροντος ἀγούσης τῆς αἰσθήσεως;

[1] ἐσθίουσι πόαν ἵνα Xylander : ἐσθίουσαι ἢ ὅταν.
[2] ἀσωμένην Xylander : μασωμένην.
[3] διδασκαλία ποθὲν οὔτε added by F. H. S., *cf.* 991 E : τίς δὲ τὰς χελώνας ἐδίδαξε ; and Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxvii. 7 : "feris ratio et usus inter se tradi non possit."
[4] πότερον οὖν] Castiglioni would omit οὖν here, and retain it after οὕτως below. [5] κενέβρεια Duebner : κενέβρια.
[6] οὕτως one late MS. : οὕτως οὖν.
[7] ? add, *e.g.*, φυσικῶς before οὐ λογισμῷ.

[a] These stories are told in a variety of places with small variants. Dogs : Plutarch, *De Sollertia Animalium*, 974 B ; Ps.-Aristotle, *Historia Animal.* 612 a 5 ; Aelian, *Historia Animal.* v. 46, viii. 9 ; Sextus Empiricus, *Hyp. Pyrrh.* i. 71 ; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxv. 91. Pigs : Plutarch, *Bruta Ratione*

XXVI

Why do animals, when suffering some malady, seek out and pursue the things that have helpful properties, with frequent benefit from their use ? Thus dogs eat grass in order to vomit up their bile ; pigs go after river-crabs, since by eating them they get relief from headache ; when a tortoise has eaten the flesh of a viper it proceeds to feed on marjoram ; and they say that the bear, when suffering from nausea, gets rid of it by picking up ants with its tongue and swallowing them.[a] But these animals have neither ⟨been taught nor⟩ tried and experienced these remedies.

Is it really true that, just as honeycombs excite bees by their scent and attract them from a distance, and carrion has the same effect on vultures,[b] so crabs act on pigs and marjoram on the tortoise, while ants' nests draw a bear to them by odours and effluxes that are conducive and proper to its well-being, their perceptions guiding these animals without any calculation of advantage ?

Uti, 991 E ; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* viii. 98 (but sea-crabs). Tortoises : Plutarch, *De Sollertia Animalium*, 974 B, *Bruta Ratione Uti*, 991 E ; Ps.-Aristotle, *Historia Animal.* 612 a 24 ; Aelian, *Historia Animal.* iii. 5 ; with the variant that marjoram is taken *before* attacking a viper, Aelian, *ibid.* vi. 12 ; Pliny, *ibid.* viii. 98, xx. 169. Bears : Sextus Empiricus, *ibid.* i. 57 ; Plutarch, *De Sollertia Animalium*, 974 B adds that the bear hangs out its tongue, which attracts the ants by a sweet discharge ; for Pliny, *ibid.* viii. 101 the ants are an antidote to mandragora.

[b] *Cf.* Lucretius, iv. 679 : "mellis apes quamvis longe ducuntur odore vulturiique cadaveribus." Post points out that Columella, ix. 15. 10 instructs the bee-keeper carefully to seal the room in which he drains the honey from the comb ; otherwise the bees will find their way to it.

(918) Ἢ τὰς ὀρέξεις ἐπιφέρουσι τοῖς ζῴοις αἱ τῶν σωμάτων κράσεις, ἃς αἱ νόσοι ποιοῦσι,[1] διαφόρους δριμύτητας ἢ γλυκύτητας ἤ τινας ἄλλας ἐντίκτουσαι ποιότητας ἀήθεις καὶ ἀτόπους, τῶν ὑγρῶν τρεπομένων; ὡς δῆλόν ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῶν γυναικῶν, ὅταν κύωσι, καὶ λίθους καὶ γῆν προσφερομένων· διὸ καὶ τῶν νοσούντων ταῖς ὀρέξεσιν οἱ χαρίεντες ἰατροὶ προῖσασι τοὺς ἀσώτως ἢ σωτηρίως ἔχοντας· ἱστορεῖ γοῦν[2] Μνησίθεος[3] ἐν ἀρχῇ πνευμονίας τὸν ἐπιθυμήσαντα κρομμύων σῴζεσθαι τὸν δὲ σύκων ἀπόλλυσθαι, διὰ τὸ ταῖς κράσεσι τὰς ὀρέξεις τὰς δὲ
E κράσεις τοῖς πάθεσιν ἕπεσθαι. πιθανὸν οὖν ἐστι καὶ τῶν θηρίων τὰ μὴ παντελῶς ὀλεθρίοις μηδ' ἀναιρετικοῖς περιπίπτοντα νοσήμασι ταύτην τὴν διάθεσιν καὶ κρᾶσιν ἴσχειν, ὑφ' ἧς ἐπὶ τὰ σῴζοντα φέρεται καὶ ἄγεται ταῖς ὀρέξεσιν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν.

KZ

Διὰ τί τὸ γλεῦκος, ἂν ὑπὸ ψύχους περιέχηται τὸ ἀγγεῖον, γλυκὺ διαμένει πολὺν χρόνον;

Πότερον ὅτι πέψις ἐστὶ τοῦ γλεύκους ἡ εἰς τὸ οἰνῶδες μεταβολὴ κωλύει δὲ τὴν πέψιν ἡ ψυχρότης, ὑπὸ θερμοῦ γὰρ ἡ πέψις;

[1] ἃς αἱ νόσοι ποιοῦσι Wyttenbach : αἱ νοσοποιοῦσι.
[2] γοῦν Duebner : οὖν.
[3] Μνησίθεος F. H. S. : Μνησίθεος ἰατρὸς. *Cf. Moralia*, 73 B, where read [ἰατρὸς] Φυλότιμος.

[a] *Cf. Quaest. Conviv.* 688 A.
[b] *Cf.* 911 E above : fevers turn moisture to bile.

Or are these appetites induced in the animals by the bodily constitutions (*krâseis*) brought about by their diseases,[a] which give rise in them, through changes in their fluids, to various pungencies, sweetnesses, or certain other unusual and abnormal qualities ? [b] There is a clear example of this in the case of pregnant women, who even eat stones and earth. This is also why clever physicians know in advance from the appetites of the sick which cases are hopeless and which may recover. For example, Mnesitheüs [c] records that a patient who in the initial stages of disease of the lungs has an appetite for onions recovers, while one who wishes for figs dies, the reason being that their appetites follow the constitution of their bodies and their constitutions follow the disease. It is plausible then that such animals also as are overtaken by diseases that are not completely destructive or fatal acquire just that bodily condition and constitution which leads and guides each of them by way of its appetites to the things that are its salvation.

XXVII

Why is it that must remains sweet for a long time if its container is in cold surroundings ? [d]

Is it because the conversion of must to a vinous character is a concoction, while cold prevents concoction, since concoction is produced by warmth ?

[c] Mnesitheüs of Athens, *floruit c.* 350 B.C., wrote books on diet (Περὶ τῶν ἐδεσμάτων, Περὶ παιδίου τροφῆς).
[d] *Cf.* Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xiv. 83 ; Columella, xii. 29. Must is unfermented (or partially fermented) grape-juice, in which the sugar has not been converted to alcohol.

(918) Ἢ τοὐναντίον, οἰκεῖός ἐστι τῆς σταφυλῆς χυμὸς ὁ γλυκύς, διὸ καὶ πεπαίνεσθαι λέγεται. ***[1] τὸ γλυκὺ κιρνώμενον· ἡ δὲ ψυχρότης οὐκ ἐῶσα διαπνεῖν, ἀλλὰ συνέχουσα τὸ θερμὸν τὴν γλυκύτητα
F διατηρεῖ τοῦ γλεύκους. αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν αἰτία καὶ τῶν τρυγωμένων ὄμβρῳ τὸ γλεῦκος ἧττον ἀναζεῖν[2]· ἡ γὰρ ζέσις ὑπὸ θερμότητος, τὴν δὲ θερμότητα κατέχει καὶ συστέλλει τὸ ψυχρόν.

ΚΗ

Διὰ τί τῶν θηρίων ἡ ἄρκτος ἥκιστα διεσθίει τὰ δίκτυα; καίτοι καὶ λύκοι καὶ ἀλώπεκες διεσθίουσι.

Πότερον ἐνδοτάτω τοὺς ὀδόντας ἔχουσα τοῦ χασματος ἥκιστα πρὸς τὰ λίνα ἐξικνεῖται, προεμπίπτει γὰρ τὰ χείλη διὰ πάχος καὶ μέγεθος;

919 Ἢ μᾶλλον ἰσχύουσα ταῖς χερσὶ ῥήγνυσι καὶ διασπᾷ τὸν βρόχον;

Ἢ καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ἅμα χρῆται καὶ τῷ στόματι, ταῖς μὲν διασπῶσα τὸ λίνον[3] τῷ δ' ἀμυνομένη τοὺς διώκοντας;

Οὐδενὸς δ' ἧττον αὐτῇ βοηθοῦσιν αἱ περικαλινδήσεις· αἷς μᾶλλον[4] διασπᾶν τὰ λίνα πραγματευο-

[1] Lacuna marked by F. H. S.
[2] ἀναζεῖν late MSS. : ἀναζῆν.
[3] τὸ λίνον later MSS. : τὸν λῖνον.
[4] αἷς μᾶλλον F. H. S. after Wyttenbach (δι' ὧν) : διὸ μᾶλλον ἢ. διὸ μᾶλλον ἀνειλεῖν ἢ Kronenberg, but *cf.* Psellus : περικυλιομένη τοῖς βρόχοις διαιρεῖ τούτους καὶ τέμνει.

[a] Sweetness being the appropriate flavour of the grape, concoction in the grape is complete when it attains sweetness : the change of flavour in the must as it turns to wine is, then, not due to concoction but to some other process (*cf.* Theophrastus, *Caus. Plant.* ii. 8. 2). This is supported by an etymology that links πέψις (concoction) with πεπαίνεσθαι (to ripen). According to Aristotle, *Meteorologica*, 380 b 32, the change of must to wine is due to ἕψησις (boiling).

Or is the opposite the case ? The sweet flavouring is the proper flavouring of the grape, which is why it is said to ripen (*pepainesthai*) ⟨. . . when the warmth leaves the must there is also released⟩ the sweetness that gets mixed with it.[a] Cold does not allow transpiration of the warmth, but by shutting it in preserves the sweetness of the must. This is the reason too why the juice of grapes gathered in the rain ferments less ; fermentation is caused by warmth, and the warmth of the grapes is held in check and confined by the cold.

XXVIII

Why of all animals are bears least given to gnawing through nets ? [b] Yet both wolves and foxes gnaw through them.

Is it because the bear's teeth are set far back in its open mouth, so that it is least able to get at the cords, since its lips, being large and thick, meet them first ?

Or is it that, having greater strength in its paws, it uses them to break the meshes and tear them to pieces ?

Or does it use both paws and mouth simultaneously, tearing away the net with the former and defending itself against its hunters with the latter ?

But nothing helps it more than the way it rolls about. By giving its attention particularly to tearing

[b] *Cf. Turi's Book of Lapland*, Eng. trans., p. 122 : " And the bear has teeth, but he will not bite the rope " (of the snare).

(919) μένη πολλάκις ἐκκυβιστᾷ καὶ σώζεται . . . . αμὴ καὶ δέοι ἡ[1] τῶν ὀδόντων.

ΚΘ

Τίς ἡ αἰτία, δι' ἣν τὰ ψυχρὰ τῶν ὑδάτων οὐ θαυμάζομεν ἀλλὰ τὰ θερμά; καίτοι δῆλον ὅτι θερμότης αἰτία τούτων ὡς ψυχρότης ἐκείνων.

Οὐ γάρ, ὡς ἔνιοι νομίζουσιν, ἡ μὲν θερμότης
B δύναμίς ἐστιν ἡ δὲ ψυχρότης στέρησις θερμότητος, ἐπεὶ πλειόνων[2] αἴτιον φανεῖται[3] τὸ μὴ ὂν τοῦ ὄντος. ἀλλ' ἔοικε τῷ σπανίῳ τὸ θαυμάσιον ἡ φύσις νέμουσα πῶς γίνεται ζητεῖν τὸ μὴ πολλάκις γινόμενον.

ὁρᾷς τὸν ὑψοῦ τόνδ' ἄπειρον αἰθέρα
καὶ γῆν πέριξ ἔχονθ'[4] ὑγραῖς ἐν ἀγκάλαις

ὅσα μὲν ἔρχεται φέρων θεάματα νυκτός, ὅσον δὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν κάλλος ἀναδείκνυσιν; οὐ μέντοι θαυμάζουσιν[5] οἱ πολλοὶ τὴν τούτων φύσιν, ἴριδες δὲ καὶ ποικίλματα νεφῶν ἡμέρας[6] καὶ σέλα ῥηγνύμενα πομφόλυγος δίκην καὶ κομῆται[7] . . .

[1] Corrupt: προνοοῦσα μὴ καὶ δεθῇ F. H. S. ὥστ' ἂν μηκέτι δέοιτο Hubert.
[2] ἐπεὶ πλειόνων late MSS.: ἐπὶ πλέον ὤν.
[3] φανεῖται F. H. S.: φαίνεται.
[4] ἔχοντα Xylander: ἐχοντά θ'.
[5] οὐ μέντοι θαυμάζουσιν added by F. H. S. after Wyttenbach.
[6] ἡμέρας Wyttenbach: ἡμέρα.
[7] καὶ κομῆται Kronenberg: κεκόσμηται.

[a] This clause translates an uncertain conjecture.
[b] Plutarch argues against this view, which is Aristotelian (*cf.* *Metaphysics*, 1070 b 12, *De Caelo*, 286 a 26, *De Gen. et*

the cords apart by this means, it often tumbles out of them and escapes, avoiding the possibility of being entangled by its teeth.[a]

XXIX

What is the reason why we marvel at hot springs but not at cold ones? Yet it is clear that heat is the cause of the former as cold is of the latter.

It is not true, as some people think, that whereas heat is a thing with active properties, cold is an absence of heat,[b] since in that case the non-existent will turn out to be responsible for more effects than the existent. But it would appear that human nature assigns marvellousness as an attribute to rarity and inquires into the reason of a thing only when it occurs infrequently.[c]

You see the boundless aether here above
Enfolding Earth within its soft embrace[d]:

what a multitude of glorious sights its movement presents at night! How great is the beauty it displays by day! Yet most people ⟨feel no wonder⟩ at the being of these things; it is rainbows, and the broidery of the clouds[e] by day, and blazes of light[f] breaking like bubbles, and comets ⟨that attract attention . . .⟩

Corr. 318 b 17, but contrast *De Part. Animal.* 649 a 18), in *De Primo Frigido*, 946 A—948 A.
[c] *Cf.* Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* vii. 1-3.
[d] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Euripides, frag. 941, cited again *De Exilio*, 601 A, *Ad Principem Ineruditum*, 780 D.
[e] The context suggests that Plutarch has coloration rather than shapes or patterns in mind. *Cf.* also *De Pythiae Oraculis*, 409 C, *De Defectu Oraculorum*, 416 D.
[f] *Cf.* Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* i. 15.1: "fulgores . . . quos

(919)

Λ

Διὰ τί τῶν ἀμπέλων τὰς ἀκάρπους, ⟨τοῖς δ' ἀκρέ⟩μοσι ⟨καὶ ἔρνεσι⟩ν εὐτρο⟨φούσ⟩ας, τραγᾶν ⟨λέγο⟩μεν;[1]

C Ἢ[2] ὅτι καὶ[3] τῶν τράγων οἱ σφόδρα πίονες ἧττόν εἰσι γόνιμοι καὶ μόλις ὑπὸ πιμελῆς ὀχεύουσι; τὸ γὰρ σπέρμα περίττωμα τῆς τροφῆς ἐστι τῆς[4] τῷ σώματι προστιθεμένης· ὅταν οὖν ἢ ζῷον ἢ δένδρον εὐεκτῇ καὶ παχύνηται, τοῦτο σημεῖόν ἐστι τοῦ τὴν τροφὴν ἐν αὐτῷ[5] καταναλισκομένην μηθὲν ἢ μικρόν τι καὶ ἀγεννὲς περίττωμα ποιεῖν.

ΛΑ

Διὰ τί ἄμπελος οἴνῳ ῥαινομένη, μάλιστα τῷ ἐξ αὐτῆς, ἀναξηραίνεται;

Πότερον, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς πολυπόταις γίνεται φαλάκρωσις, ὑπὸ θερμότητος τοῦ οἴνου τὸ ὑγρὸν ἐξατμίζοντος;

Ἢ φύσει σηπτικὸν[6] τὸ οἰνῶδές ἐστιν, ὥς φησιν D Ἐμπεδοκλῆς οἶνον ἀπὸ φλοιοῦ πέλεσθαι σαπὲν ἐν

[1] Text by Wyttenbach: ἀκάρπους space for *c.* 24 letters ἀστραγαν...μεν (.. ἢ ὅτι). After ἀκάρπους Planudes added .....μωσι..νευτο.
[2] ἢ Duebner: ἢ.
[3] καὶ F. H. S.: space of 3 letters.
[4] τῆς Xylander: καὶ τῆς.
[5] αὐτῷ Hubert: ἑαυτῷ.
[6] φύσει σηπτικὸν Amyot: φύ.....

Graeci σέλα appellant": they include comets, the aurora borealis, and "fulgura" that strike like thunderbolts. Seneca also claims (*ibid.* i. 1. 3) several times to have seen a huge ball of flame, "quae tamen in ipso cursu suo dissipata est." See also [Aristotle], *De Mundo* 392 b 3, 395 a 32, b 3: σέλας δ' ἐστι πυρὸς ἀθρόου ἔξαψις ἐν ἀέρι· τῶν δὲ σελάων ἃ μὲν ἀκοντίζεται, ἃ δὲ στηρίζεται, with further details.

[a] *Cf.* Aristotle, *Historia Animal.* 546 a 1.

[b] Thus good digestion leaves no residue for seed in Greek date-palms (*Quaest. Conviv.* 724 E) or in stout people (*ibid.* 641 A). *Cf.* Aristotle, *De Gen. Animal.* 727 b 1, and on the whole question *ibid.* 725 b 32 ff.

[c] The hair-roots are supposed to need moisture if the hair is to grow, *cf.* Aristotle, *De Gen. Animal.* 783 b 18; similarly the vine withers if deprived of moisture.

XXX

Why do we say of vines that do not fruit, but have a luxuriant growth of branches and shoots, that they "go goatish" (*tragân*)? [a]

Is it because very fat he-goats are also less able to procreate and have difficulty in serving the female by reason of their fat, because the seed is a residue from the nourishment that goes to build the body? So whenever either an animal or a plant is in good condition and grows stout, it is a sign that its food is being all used up in it, so as to produce no residue or only a small one that is useless for generation.[b]

XXXI

Why is it that a vine withers if sprinkled with wine, particularly with wine made from its own grapes?

Is it because the wine by reason of its heat evaporates the moisture, just as baldness occurs in heavy drinkers? [c]

Or is vinous liquid ⟨by nature putrefactive⟩, as Empedocles says wine to be water from the bark,

(919) ξύλῳ ὕδωρ; ὅταν οὖν ἔξωθεν οἴνῳ βρέχηται, γίνεται πῦρ ἐπὶ πῦρ τῇ[1] ἀμπέλῳ καὶ τοῦ τρέφοντος ὑγροῦ τὴν οἰκείαν[2] δύναμιν ἐξίστησιν ἡ κρᾶσις.

Ἢ στυπτικὴν φύσιν ἔχων ὁ ἄκρατος ἐνδύεται ταῖς ῥίζαις, καὶ τοὺς πόρους συναγαγὼν καὶ πυκνώσας οὐ διίησι τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς τὸ φυτόν, ᾧ[3] εὐθαλεῖν[4] καὶ βλαστάνειν πέφυκεν;

Ἢ καὶ τοῦτο μᾶλλον εἶναι τῇ ἀμπέλῳ παρὰ φύσιν, τὸ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀπιὸν εἰς αὐτὴν ἐπανιὸν πάλιν δέχεσθαι; τῆς γὰρ ἐν τοῖς φυτοῖς ὑγρότητος ἠθεῖται[5] Ε τὸ μὴ[6] τρέφειν μηδὲ προστίθεσθαι μηδὲ μέρος εἶναι τοῦ φυτοῦ[7] . . . .

XXXII[8]

Cur inter omnes arbores sola palma contra impositum onus adsurgit ?

Utrum quod ignea et spirabilis facultas, qua maxime pollet, cum tentatur et irritatur, sese exercens magis et magis erigit ?

An quoniam pondus ramos subito urgens aerem omnem qui in his est oppressum cedere retro cogat,

[1] ἐπὶ πῦρ τῇ added by Wyttenbach, *cf. Mor.* 61 A, 123 E, 143 F, 610 C.
[2] ὑγροῦ τὴν οἰκείαν F. H. S. : gap of 12-16 letters.
[3] ᾧ added by Anon. 3 (Turnebus). ? ᾧ καὶ.
[4] εὐθαλεῖν Wyttenbach : εὐθαλῆ.
[5] ἠθεῖται Bernardakis : ἤνθει καὶ.
[6] τὸ μὴ Hubert : τι.
[7] φυτοῦ Bernardakis : φυ.
[8] Longolius's spelling and punctuation have been modified to suit modern taste, and misprints corrected.

[a] See note on 912 c above.
[b] In other passages we learn of a peculiarity of the *timber*

when putrid in the wood.[a] So when the vine is externally moistened by wine, it is a case of ⟨adding fire to⟩ fire in the vine (?), and the admixture quite alters the specific power of the nutrient ⟨moisture⟩.

Or does unmixed wine, being naturally astringent, penetrate the roots and there contract and clog the passages so as not to let through into the plant the water which it needs to grow and flourish ?

Or is it even more unnatural for the vine to receive back and have returned to itself a substance that has left it ? That part of the moisture in plants that ⟨cannot⟩ feed them or be taken up to become part of them is filtered out ⟨into the fruit . . .⟩

XXXII

Why does the palm alone of all trees rise against a weight laid on it ? [b]

Is it because the energy of the fiery and breathlike substance, which is the chief source of the palm's strength, exerts itself more when tested and provoked, and so raises the tree more than before ?

Or because a weight suddenly pressing on the branches forces all the air in them to retreat as it is

from the palm tree : a log laid horizontally hunches itself in an upward curve against a superimposed weight (Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, vii. 5. 11 ; Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* v. 6. 1 ; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xvi. 223). It is clearly this peculiarity that is referred to by Plutarch in *Quaest. Conviv.* 724 E, a passage which, as appears from Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, iii. 6, is based on a problem in the seventh book of Aristotle's *Problems*. It is possible that Longolius misunderstood the Greek text here, and wrongly supposing it to refer to a growing tree, introduced the words *ramos* and *virgae*, without warrant (see introd. p. 142 on his methods of translation).

qui deinde resumptis paulo viribus adversum onus acrius rursus instat ?

An molles et tenerae virgae impetum non sustinentes, cum onus quiescit, paulatim se erigunt et speciem quasi contra illud adsurgant praebent ?

XXXIII

Quare aqua de puteis hausta minus alit quam quae de fonte aut caelo manat ?

An quia frigidior magis sit et parum quoque aeris habeat ?

An quod salis multum immixta sibi de terra habeat ; sal autem maciem, si quid aliud, facit ?

An quod pigra nec cursu exercitata qualitatem aliquam malam adquirat, quae stirpibus et animantibus contraria in causa est quod nec bene concoquatur nec nutrire quicquam possit ? Hinc et stagnantes aquae minus probae[1] censentur, quod iniurias quas vel ab aeris mala qualitate vel a terra accipiunt digerere nequeant.

XXXIV

Cur Zephyrus ventorum omnium celerrimus vulgo fertur, et Homerus " nos quoque cum Zephyri curramus flatibus una " ?

An quod aere perpurgato et minime nebuloso flare

[1] *probe* ed. princ.

[a] *Cf.* 912 A above.

[b] *Cf.* Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, c. 7.

[c] Words of the horse Xanthus to Achilles at *Iliad*, xix. 415: *νῶϊ δὲ καί κεν ἅμα πνοιῇ Ζεφύροιο θέοιμεν, | ἣν περ ἐλαφροτάτην φάσ' ἔμμεναι.*

compressed ? The air then slowly recovers its strength and in turn pushes more vigorously against the weight.

Or do the soft weak twigs that cannot resist the impetus of the weight slowly raise themselves when it comes to rest, giving the appearance of rising against it ?

XXXIII

Why is water drawn from wells less nutritious than that which flows from a spring or from the sky ?

Is it because it is colder and also contains little air ? [a]

Or because it contains much salt from the earth that is mixed with it ? Nothing causes leanness so much as salt.

Or because being sluggish and not shaken up by running, it acquires some bad quality that is adverse to plants and animals and is the reason why it is not well concocted and cannot nourish anything ? Hence standing waters, too, are thought less good,[b] because they are unable to throw off any damage that they receive, whether from some bad quality of the air or from the earth.

XXXIV

Why of all the winds is the west wind commonly accounted the swiftest, and why does Homer write

> Though we too might gallop as fast as the west wind's breath ? [c]

Is it because it usually blows when the air has been thoroughly cleansed and is most free from cloud ?

soleat ? Aeris enim densitas et impuritas ventorum cursum non mediocriter impedit.

An quod sol radiis suis flatum frigidum perstringens, quo velocius feratur, auctor est ? Quicquid enim frigidi ventorum vi contrahitur, id a calore veluti hoste superatum longius et citius propelli credendum est.

XXXV

Cur apes fumum ferre nequeunt ?

Quod[1] meatus spiritus vitalis sane quam angustos habeant. At is fumo interceptus et conclusus angit et propemodum ad mortem apes adigit.

An acredo amaritudoque fumi in causa est ? Gaudent enim dulcibus apes neque alio nutrimento aluntur : itaque ut contrariam et noxiam rem propter amaritudinem fumum detestantur. Qua de causa mellarii cum fumum abigendis apibus faciunt, amaras herbas, ut cicutam et centaurium,[2] incendere solent.

XXXVI

Cur apes citius pungunt qui stuprum dudum fecerunt ?

[1] Either Longolius's Greek text had the mistake of omitting ἢ (*cf.* 914 C, E, 917 D) or *an* is omitted from the Latin text.

[2] *centaurum* ed. princ.

[a] One would think the rising sun as well able to set the east wind in motion as the setting sun the west. But it may be assumed that the west wind is colder (its coldness is commented on in [Aristotle], *Problemata*, 946 a 17 ff.) and therefore flees faster.

[b] *Cf.* note on 916 B above.

For thickness and impurity of the air is no mean hindrance to the rapid passage of the winds.

Or because the sun strikes the cold wind with its rays and is thereby responsible for its moving faster ? For we must suppose that all the coldness collected by the force of the winds is driven in accelerated and protracted flight by the warmth, as if by a victorious enemy.[a]

XXXV

Why cannot bees bear smoke ?

Is it because they have very narrow passages for their vital *pneuma*,[b] the blocking and imprisoning of which by the smoke suffocates them and brings them to death's door ?

Or does the reason lie in the pungency and bitterness of smoke ? Bees delight in sweet things and make them their only food ; so they hate smoke for its bitterness, as being something contrary and harmful. Hence when beekeepers make smoke to drive the bees away, it is their practice to burn bitter plants like hemlock and centaury.

XXXVI

Why are bees quicker to sting persons who have just committed an immoral sexual act ? [c]

[c] *Cf. Conjugalia Praecepta*, 144 D ; Columella, ix. 14. 3 ; *Geoponica*, xv. 2. 15, but in none of these passages (unless possibly the first) is it suggested that bees distinguish illicit from licit sexual acts. The belief that bees readily attack those who carry the odour of sexual intercourse may be true, since they appear to be provoked by other body odours.

An quod animal est munditiae et elegantiae perquam studiosum; praeterea olfactus sensu valet plurimum? Quum itaque impuri congressus propter impudicitiam et immoderatam libidinem soleant esse immundiores, et citius ab apibus deprehenduntur et odium vehementius adversus illos concipiunt. Unde apud Theocritum iocose Venus ad Anchisen a pastore ablegatur, uti apum aculeis propter adulterium commissum pungatur:

> Te confer ad Idam,
> confer ad Anchisen, ubi quercus atque cypirus
> crescit, apum strepit atque domus melliflua bombis.

Et Pindarus: "Parvula favorum fabricatrix, quae Rhoecum pupugisti aculeo, domans illius perfidiam."

XXXVII

Quare canes, relicto homine qui iecit, lapidem morsu insectantur?

An quia neque cogitatione comprehendere quic-

[a] Lines spoken by Daphnis in Theocritus, i. 105. A. S. F. Gow, *Theocritus*, ii, p. 24, thinks this an alternative form of the usual story, according to which Anchises was punished by a lightning stroke for boasting of his liaison with Aphroditê. The Latin also admits of the meaning that Aphroditê herself was stung by the bees. Theocritus's lines are:

> ἔρπε πρὸς Ἴδαν,
> ἔρπε πρὸς Ἀγχίσαν· τηνεὶ δρύες ἠδὲ (ὧδε MSS.) κύπειρος,
> αἱ δὲ καλαὶ βομβεῦντι ποτὶ σμάνεσσι μέλισσαι.

[b] Frag. 252 Snell, known only in this Latin version. The story of Rhoecus, as combined from the scholiasts on Apollonius Rhodius, ii. 477, and Theocritus, iii. 13 c, with *Etym. Magnum*, 75. 26 (originally from Charon of Lampsacus), is that he was a Cnidian who in Nineveh caused his slaves to prop up a tree that was falling with age. The tree-nymph whose life he thus saved offered him any boon. He chose to lie with her; she agreed and promised that a bee should summon him to her, but he was to avoid intercourse with other women. The bee came when he was playing draughts, he spoke impatiently to it, and the insulted nymph punished him by some bodily injury, perhaps blindness. Pindar's story must have been different, Rhoecus suffering for infidelity, as is hinted in the inconsequent ban on other intercourse in Charon's version, and not for lack of tact; see Jacoby, *Frag. Gr. Hist.* iii. A 20 and P. Friedländer in Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*, I A 1002.

Is it because the bee is extremely devoted to cleanliness and neatness and has, furthermore, a very keen sense of smell? Now since irregular coition is usually more unclean, through lewdness and unrestrained lust, such persons are more quickly detected by bees, and the bees conceive a more violent dislike of them. Hence the jest in Theocritus when Aphroditê is dispatched by the herdsman to Anchises, with the intention that he (? she) shall be stung by bees because of their adultery:

> So take you to Ida,
> Take you to Anchises, where oaks and galingale grow,
> And the buzz of bees is loud in their honey-flowing home.[a]

And Pindar writes:

> Tiny comb-builder, who planted your sting
> In Rhoecus, bringing low his perfidy.[b]

XXXVII

Why do dogs pursue and bite a stone, disregarding the man who threw it?[c]

Is it because a dog has neither reasoning power nor

[c] *Cf.* Plato, *Republic*, 469 E.

quam nec reminisci (quibus solus homo virtutibus valet) potest ? Itaque quum mente non discernat a quo iniuria fuerit illata, id tantum quod ob oculos minaciter versatur inimicum esse existimat deque eo vindictam sumere parat.

An lapidem, dum per terram mittitur, feram aliquam esse autumans, pro ingenio hanc prius capere conatur, deinde cum viderit se opinione sua frustrari, hominem rursus invadit ?

An quod et id quod missum fuerit et hominem ipsum aequaliter odit, et id quod proximius est insectatur ?

XXXVIII

Cur lupae certo anni tempore omnes intra XII dies pariunt ?

Antipater in libro de animalibus partum lupas proiicere adserit, cum glandiferae arbores florem abiiciunt, quo gustato uteri illarum reserantur : cum eius copia non est, partum in ipso corpore emori nec in lucem venire posse : praeterea regiones illas a lupis non vastari, quae glandium quercuumque feraces non sunt.

Quidam ad fabulam Latonae referunt, quae cum uterum ferret nec uspiam tuta prae Iunone esse

[a] Aristotle, *Historia Animal.* 580 a 13 ff. says that mating is at a single season, and that all births are reported to take place within a period of twelve days in early summer : he is sceptical of this. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* viii. 83 says that mating is confined to twelve days.

[b] Cited for a marvellous story by the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, ii. 88, whence C. Wendel, *Hermes*, lxxvii (1942), p. 216, argues that he is not the Stoic Antipater of Tarsus, among whose fragments this passage is included

memory (which are faculties peculiar to man), and so when it cannot distinguish in its mind the source of the damage done to it, it considers that its only enemy is the object, the threatening movement of which it has in view, and sets about taking its revenge on that ?

Or is it that it imagines the stone, so long as it rolls along the ground, to be some animal and tries at first to catch this animal, following its instincts, but afterwards, seeing itself to be mistaken in its belief, returns to attack the man ?

Or is the reason that it hates the missile just as much as the man, and goes for the nearer of the two ?

XXXVIII

Why do all she-wolves litter within twelve days at a fixed time of the year ? [a]

Antipater [b] in his book *On Animals* asserts that wolves give birth at the time when trees that bear nuts or acorns shed their flowers : when they eat these, their wombs are opened. But if there is no supply of these flowers, their offspring die within them and cannot see the light. Moreover those parts of the world that are not fertile in nut-trees or oak-trees are not troubled by wolves.

Some trace the cause to the story of Leto. She, when pregnant and unable to find safety from Hera

(*S.V.F.* iii. 251), but an unknown chronicler of marvels. Yet marvels did not come amiss to Stoics, as being evidence of the workings of Providence or of the unity of all things in the universe. Chrysippus " recorded many strange and surprising facts " (*Quaest. Conviv.* 627 E), and Cleanthes's tall story about ants was famous (*S.V.F.* i. 515).

posset, duodecim diebus, quibus in Delum proficiscebatur, in lupum a Iove mutata, ut deinceps omnes lupae eo ipso tempore parere possint impetravit.

XXXIX

Cur aqua in summa parte alba, in fundo vero nigra spectatur ?

An quod profunditas nigredinis mater est, ut quae solis radios prius quam ad eam descendant obtundat et labefactet ? Superficies autem, quoniam continuo a sole adficitur, candorem luminis recipiat oportet. Quod ipsum et Empedocles approbat

> et niger in fundo fluvii color exstat ab umbra
> atque cavernosis itidem spectatur in antris.

An limo plerumque oppletus fluminum marisque fundus talem de se colorem per solis reflexum parit, quali utique is praeditus est ?

An probabilius est, aquam minime quae illis est puram et sinceram esse, sed terrea qualitate (utpote quae continuo, qua currit vel agitatur, aliquid ex ea advehat) imbutam, cum ad fundum residet, turbidiorem et minus perspicuam effici ?

[a] Where she gave birth to Apollo and Artemis. This story, perhaps aetiological to account for Apollo's title Lykeios, is recorded by Aristotle, *Historia Animal.* 580 a 16-19. Aelian, *Historia Animal.* iv. 4, has it in the form that wolves are in labour for 12 days and nights, the Delians saying that Leto took so long to reach Delos from the land of the Hyperboreans.

[b] Diels-Kranz, *Frag. der Vorsok.* i. 31 B 94. Empedocles believed water to be black and fire white (Theophrastus, *De sensu*, 59) : light is a form of fire. Thus unlighted water, at the bottom of a river, or unlighted air, in a cave, is black. In view of the Peripatetic source of many other questions in this collection it may be noted that Aristotle held water to be black, *De Gen. Animal.* 735 a 32 with b 35, *cf.* also *De Primo Frigido*, 950 A.

anywhere, was turned by Zeus into a wolf for the twelve days during which she was on the way to Delos [a] : she obtained his consent that in future all wolves should be able to litter in that same period.

XXXIX

Why is water seen as white in its upper layer but black at the bottom ?

Is it because depth is the mother of blackness, inasmuch as it blunts and weakens the sun's rays before they get down to it ? The surface, on the other hand, being immediately affected by the sun, must take on the brightness of its light. This has the support of Empedocles too :

> The black colour, too, in the depths of the river is due to the shadow,
> And may be observed in just the same way in underground caverns. [b]

Or do the depths of rivers and of the sea, being generally choked with mud, generate from themselves by reflection of the sun the same colour as characterizes the mud, ⟨although it may not be that of the water⟩ ?

Or is it more plausible that the water of rivers and sea is anything but pure and unadulterated, but being imbued with an earthy quality (seeing that it is perpetually assimilating something from the earth over which the river runs or the sea tosses), turns muddier and less transparent when it settles to the bottom ?

XL

(Psellus, *De Omnifaria Doctrina*, 170 Westerink, 134 Migne)

Τίς ἡ αἰτία δι' ἣν, ὅταν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐμπέσῃ κεραυνός, ἅλες ἐξανθοῦσι;

Πηγνύμενον τὸ θαλάσσιον ὕδωρ τοὺς ἅλας ποιεῖ, πήγνυται δὲ τοῦ κεραυνοῦ ἐμπεσόντος ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ τὸ γλυκὺ καὶ πότιμον ὕδωρ ἐξάγοντος· ὅθεν τὸ μὲν λεπτὸν καὶ πότιμον ὕδωρ οὔθ' ὑπὸ ἡλίου καιόμενον πήγνυται οὔθ' ὑπὸ κεραυνοῦ, τὸ δ' ἁλμυρὸν ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων τοῦτο πάσχει, καὶ μάλιστα ὑπὸ κεραυνοῦ. θειῶδες γὰρ ὂν τὸ κεραύνιον πῦρ, ὅταν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐμπέσῃ, ἐξατμίζει μὲν καὶ ἀναξηραίνει τὸ πότιμον, πήγνυσι δὲ τὸ γεῶδες καὶ ἁλμυρόν· ὅθεν ἄσηπτα μὲν οἱ κεραυνοὶ τὰ σώματα ποιοῦσιν, ἄσηπτα δὲ οἱ ἅλες διαφυλάττουσιν, ἐκτηκομένης ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῆς ὑγρότητος. ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ φιλόσοφος ἀποδέχεται καὶ οἱ κρείττους τῶν φυσικῶν.

XLI

(Psellus, *De Omnifaria Doctrina*, 188 Westerink, 152 Migne)

Διὰ τί τὰ ῥόδα μᾶλλον ἀνθεῖ δυσόδμων τινῶν παραπεφυτευμένων αὐτοῖς;

Οὐ τὰ ῥόδα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ κρίνα καὶ τὰ ἴα καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἔχει ἡδεῖαν ἀποφοράν, ὅταν σκόροδα καὶ κρόμμυα τούτοις παραφυτεύηται, εὐωδέστερα γίνεται, διότι πᾶν εἴτι δριμὺ καὶ δύσοδμον ἐν τούτοις ᾖ, ἐν τοῖς δριμυτέροις τῶν σπερμάτων φυσικῶς ἀπορρεῖ, καὶ γίνεται τὸ καταλιμπανόμενον εὐωδέστατον καὶ ὀσφραντικώτατον. καὶ τὸ πήγανον δὲ ὑπὸ τῇ συκῇ φυτευόμενον δριμύτερον ἑαυτοῦ γίνεται. μετατίθεται γὰρ εἰς τὸ φυτὸν τὸ ἐν τῇ συκῇ βα-

XL [a]

For what reason does a salt scum form when a thunderbolt falls into the sea?

Solidification of sea-water produces salt, and it is solidified when a thunderbolt falls into the sea and expels the sweet drinkable water from it. Hence light drinkable water is not solidified when burnt by the sun or a thunderbolt, but both things cause this effect in sea-water, particularly the thunderbolt. When the fire of lightning, being sulphurous, falls into the sea, it evaporates and dries up what is drinkable in it, but solidifies what is earthy and salty. Hence lightning makes dead bodies immune from decay, and salt also preserves them undecayed since their moisture oozes out of them by its action.[b] The philosopher Aristotle [c] approves this explanation, and so do the better scientists.

XLI

Why do roses flower better if certain malodorous plants have been set alongside them?

Not only roses, but lilies also and violets and all flowers that have a sweet scent become more fragrant when leeks and onions are planted alongside them, because anything pungent and ill-smelling that there may be in them is by a law of nature drained off to the more pungent plants,[d] and what is left becomes extremely fragrant and good to smell. Rue, too, when planted under a fig-tree becomes more pungent than ever,[e] since what is malodorous in the fig-

[a] On this question and the next see introd. p. 143.
[b] *Cf. Quaest. Conviv.* 685 c.
[c] Frag. 210.
[d] *Cf. De Capienda Ex Inimicis Utilitate*, 92 B.
[e] At *Quaest. Conviv.* 684 D Plutarch's grandfather is made to give, on the authority of market gardeners, the opposite belief, namely that the rue becomes sweeter and less pungent.

ρύοσμον. καὶ ταῖς συκαῖς δὲ ἀγρίων παραπεφυτευμένων συκῶν βελτίω τὰ σῦκα γίνεται. ὁλκῆς γὰρ ἑκάστῳ καὶ φορᾶς πρὸς τὰ σύμφυλα καὶ ὅμοια γινομένης, ὅσον ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ γλύκειᾳ συκῇ δριμὺ εἰς τὴν ἀγρίαν μεταβαίνει συκὴν καὶ ἄμικτον τὴν τοῦ σύκου φυλάττει γλυκύτητα.

tree is transferred to the plant. Again figs are improved when wild figs are planted alongside the trees. Everything has an attraction and motion towards things that are of the same kind as itself or similar to it; and so all that is pungent in the sweet fig-tree transfers itself to the wild one, so that the sweetness of its figs is preserved uncontaminated.

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